URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE LORDSHIPS OF GLAMORGAN, GWYNLLŴG, CAERLEON AND USK UNDER THE CLARE FAMILY, 1217 – 1314

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DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed R. L. Penrose (candidate)

Date 31 · 10 · 1997

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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NOTE ON SPELLINGS USED IN THE TEXT

The spelling of Welsh place names used in this thesis generally follows the forms suggested in Elwyn Davies (ed.) (1957) A Gazetteer of Welsh Placenames. Given that the thesis is written in English, I have used the English forms where these are in common usage (e.g. Cardiff, Caerphilly, Caerleon). On occasion, however, the Welsh form has been used where the English corruption is little different (e.g. Llandaf rather than Llandaff, and Llanbleddian rather than Llanblethian). Personal names have also generally followed the forms in common usage where the individual in question is well known. On occasion, however, reference has been made to individuals who are not well known or easily identifiable. Upon such occasions, the form used is that which is present in the original source material. Above all, consistency has been the objective.

SUMMARY

This thesis has set out with the intention of providing a detailed investigation of the pattern of urban development which occurred in the lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk between 1217 and 1314. The reason for concentrating upon the period 1217-1314 is that it was during this time that each of the four lordships passed into the hands of a single baronial family, the Clare earls of Gloucester and Hertford. A central theme of the thesis has been to obtain an understanding of the way in which urban development as a whole evolved during this period, with particular emphasis being placed upon the role played by the Clare seigneurs in shaping these developments. This question of seigneurial involvement is important, and sets the study apart from previous investigations into urbanisation in the four lordships. Whilst the individual development of towns within the lordships has generally received a fair amount of historical and archaeological investigation, very little attempt has been made to examine how the towns might have been interactive and interdependent in terms of administration and economic development when under the control of a common lord.

In the course of this thesis consideration has been made of the development and evolution of the towns of Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Caerleon, Usk, Cowbridge, Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly, and important aspects regarding the respective influence of the seigneur and the burgesses have been identified. In all the towns held by the Clares, it emerges that it was the seigneur who represented the dominant force in shaping urban development. Moreover, strong evidence has emerged to suggest that the Clares adopted and implemented a homogeneous attitude towards the development of urban centres in their Marcher lordships.

PART ONE

THE ORIGINS OF URBANISATION IN MEDIEVAL SOUTH WALES AND THE RISE TO PROMINENCE OF THE CLARE FAMILY

CHAPTER ONE

URBANISATION IN GLAMORGAN, GWYNLLŴG, CAERLEON AND USK PRIOR TO CLARE LORDSHIP

The intent of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive investigation into the patterns of development in the urban centres of the Clare lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon, and Usk between 1215 and 1317. However, if this investigation is to present a fully defined argument, a fundamental question must be considered from the outset. To what extent had the process of urbanisation developed prior to the Clare period of domination? Only by addressing this question will a framework and context for this research be properly provided.

URBANISATION DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Throughout the early middle ages, 'Wales' represented little more than an expression. In geographical terms, Wales does not represent a unit within itself but rather in terms of climate, relief, geology, and settlement, it consists of a collection of regions.[1] Dominated by the central mountain massif, the arable land and subsequent population of Wales lay then, as now, along the coastal plains and major river valleys. In its early medieval form, Wales was effectively a country without a centre. Its population was grouped into pockets, isolated from each other by the forces of geography, particularly in the form of mountains and river estuaries.[2] Such a pattern of natural, geographic fragmentation encouraged subsequent political fragmentation. The problem, as John Davies correctly identifies, was not so much one of too many mountains as one of too many plains.[3] The kingdom of Scotland found its centre in the lowlands of the Tay and Forth, an area without equal in the rest of Scotland in terms of wealth and population. In Wales, however, there were four fertile regions capable of supporting a kingdom; Anglesey for Gwynedd, the Vale of Glamorgan for Morgannwg, the Severn valley for Powys, and the Tywi valley for Deheubarth.[4] The problem, though, was that none of these areas had the overwhelming superiority required to bind the other regions to it.[5] What this meant in practice was that the multitude of small kingdoms which had emerged during the post Roman period, slowly formed four larger regions (see figure one). Of these territorial divisions it is the south east, Morgannwg, which is of particular interest in this study. It was here that the Clare family would later hold its Welsh domains.[6]

In many ways, the south east represents the most distinctive region of early medieval Wales. Rich in high quality agricultural land, the kingdom of Morgannwg was relatively well populated with a secure settlement pattern and a socio-economic profile that was much more distinct and more complex than in the other three kingdoms.[7] In political terms, too, Morgannwg stood somewhat apart. While Rhodri Mawr (c.844 – 78), Hywel Dda (c.900 – 950), and Maredudd ab Owain (c.986 – 99) each extended their rule over much of the rest of Wales, Morgannwg remained separate. Indeed, while Gwynedd and Deheubarth struggled to extend their hegemonies, Morgannwg's orientation seemed to lie increasingly towards the east. In the late ninth and tenth centuries, contact was sustained with England and for a period the kings of Morgannwg attended the English court.[8]

Theories of Morgannwg's separation from the other petty kingdoms in Wales should not be pursued too far, however. Morgannwg became subject to new dynasties, whose origins appear to have lain in the west, from around 1000, while the kingdom became subject to Gruffydd ap Llywelyn c.1058.[9] Although Morgannwg's kings were not fully linked to the house of Gwynedd in the same way that Powys and Deheubarth were, they were nevertheless descendants of Rhodri Mawr through his daughter Nest, and efforts were made to trace their ancestry back to Cunedda and Coel Hen.[10] The social and legal systems which existed in Morgannwg were similar to the rest of Wales, while some of the formative elements in Welsh religion and mythology originated there. Morgannwg, therefore, was not a truly separate entity. Rather, it was an area thoroughly Welsh in nature and conventions which, because of its powerful English neighbour, was often forced to adopt an eastern orientation. The extent of the English threat had been fully demonstrated when Ergyng (see figure one) was lost in the ninth century. Consequently, when the initiative lay with the Welsh in the form of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, Morgannwg was soon integrated into the Welsh mainstream. Indeed, the destruction of Harold Godwinson's hunting lodge at Portskewitt following Gruffydd's death demonstrates that while there had been contact with England over the previous two hundred years, the leaders of this part of Wales had no desire to succumb to full English rule.[11]

The society which existed within the fragile political structure was almost entirely agricultural in nature. The population of Morgannwg, like the rest of Wales, had a direct involvement in food production although raiding and looting would inevitably have found a place in times of political dislocation.[12] The available source material tends to refer to the well worked, fertile lowland areas and our relative ignorance of the upland mass makes generalisations about farming patterns difficult. Where we possess sufficient evidence, however, the ideal of a mixed farming pattern emerges where cornfields are as common as pasture.[13] Overwhelmingly, it would seem, the object of agriculture was to grow corn and, save for infrequent references to herbs and vegetables,[14] the only other crops which are evidenced are the flax seed necessary for the production of linen,[15] oats and barley.[16] The pastoral sector of farming involved the rearing of sheep, cattle, pigs, and goats, while oxen were used for ploughing and as beasts of burden. It is reference to cattle which is most common, however, and we can only assume that they represented the mainstay of the pastoral economy. It was, after all, in cattle that values were assessed and payments actually made.[17] Horses, meanwhile, seem to have been used to transport people rather than goods, although the Llandâf Charters make a distinction between 'best' and other horses which suggests that lesser specimens may have been used in general agricultural work.[18]

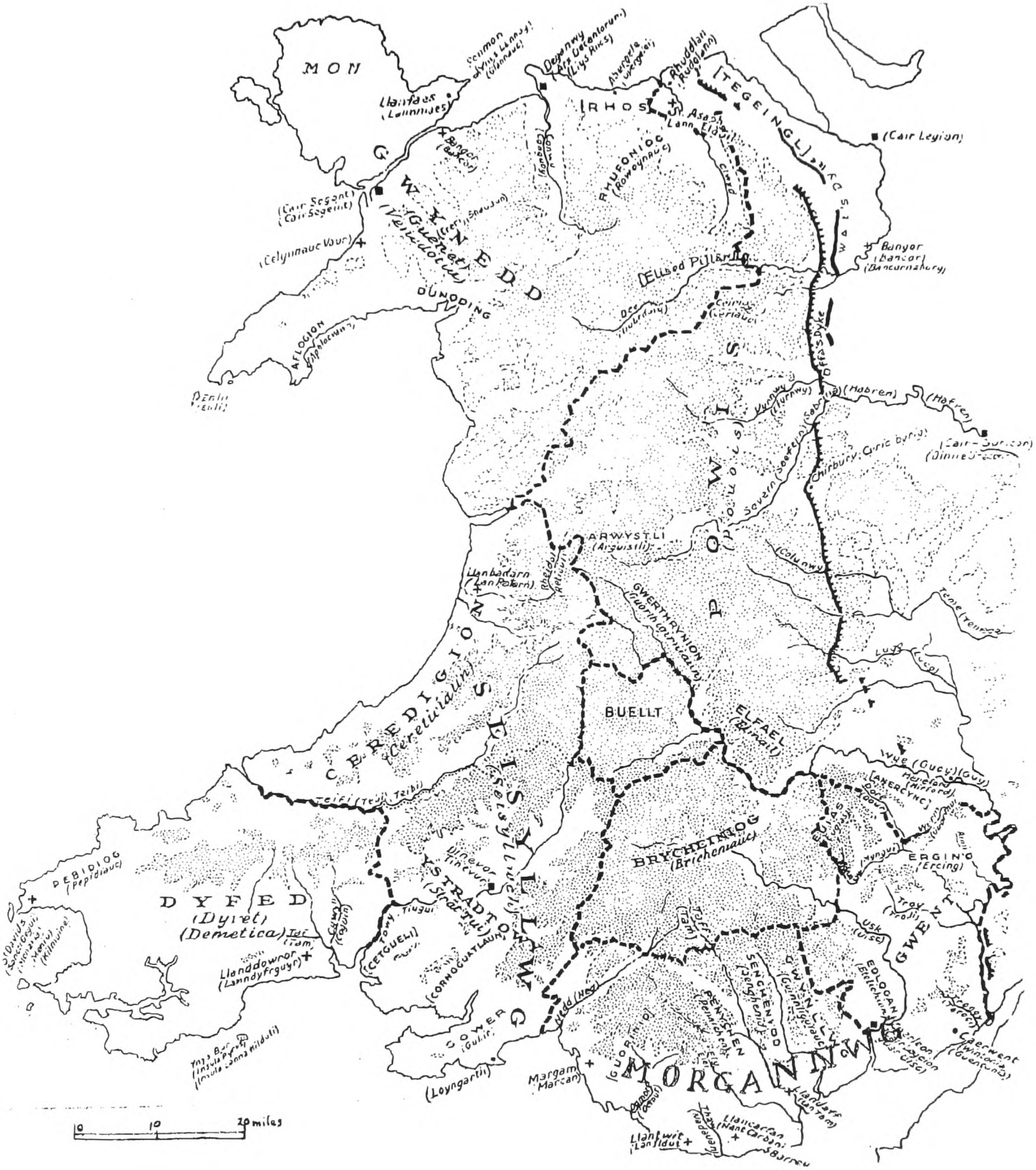


FIGURE ONE: WALES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES SHOWING MAJOR TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

Most of the population of Morgannwg may have lived on the land, but they did so in different ways. The basis of the economy was agrarian but it did not work equally for all men, some laboured on the land whilst others merely enjoyed the fruits of those labours. The very fact that we have evidence of renders during this period suggests that at least some of the land was formed into estates where tenants worked for the owner.[19] Indeed, there are a number of references which suggest that much of the cultivable land in south eastern Wales was exploited in this way. The Llandâf material suggests that such estates could be highly variable in size, ranging from forty to six thousand acres. However, these figures represent extremes and most covered an area of between one hundred and one thousand acres.[20] All the indications we have point towards exceptional tenurial complexity, with some estates supporting an owner, tenant farmers, and workers/slaves. Thus, the average estate would not be worked by one family but would support a working population of thirty to forty people.[21] Whether or not there was one or more type of estate is difficult to establish, but uniformity seems unlikely. In fact, even if the estate was widespread we still do not know for certain if there were small free peasant farmers as well.[22]

In a series of papers G.R. Jones has suggested that such estates were often grouped together to form greater or 'multiple' estates for better utilisation of resources. Such units of exploitation could achieve something approaching self sufficiency and with upland and lowland areas contained within one multiple estate, there might be summer and winter pasture, woodland, and arable land which would all be necessary in a mixed farming economy.[23] In Jones' view, these large estates were essentially the same units as the 'maenor' of the twelfth century Welsh law tracts. Each maenor would have an administrative focus (llys), a religious focus (llan), and possess a well known fortifiable place for the population to retire to in times of need.[24] It would seem likely, therefore, that groups of 'trefi', or farms, were sometimes associated for administrative and proprietary reasons with the resources being shared. In the immediate post-conquest period in the south east of Wales, however, later evidence suggests that these larger estates broke up into smaller, independent trefi. This would suggest that the functional relationship which had existed between trefi had largely been lost by the eleventh century, although it is entirely feasible that they would have been retained in their groups for fiscal purposes.[25] The evidence of the renders which were imposed in the south east allow us some insight into the productive capacity of the estates.[26] An example would be the render demanded from Villa Cadroc by the River Thaw which consisted of twelve measures of beer, a sester of honey, and unspecified additions.[27] Such renders returned by tenants must represent the surplus which could be easily achievable once the workers had been supported. Indeed, the amounts which were demanded are quite modest but they nevertheless serve to demonstrate that some surplus was being produced.

While agricultural exploitation was overwhelmingly dominant, a few references suggest some other forms of production and specialisation did exist within the pre-conquest society. Excavations at Dinas Powys suggest that iron smelting took place, while a witness of an early Llandâf charter is referred to as a smith.[28] Swords seem to have changed hands frequently as payment during the eighth and ninth centuries, while domestic and agricultural implements were produced, possibly under the patronage of land owners.[29] It is possible, therefore, to envisage such work taking place at the centres of the estates, much like the court smith of the twelfth and thirteenth century law tracts.[30] Other crafts such as spinning,

jewel working, weaving, and leatherworking probably took place in a domestic setting, producing goods for immediate use rather than distribution.[31]

However, there is very little evidence of specialisation of occupation and it is only in the very late prose tales that there is evidence of trades in the sense that we understand the term. Saddlers, shoemakers, and shieldmakers appear in 'Manawydan, son of Llyr', but it is noticeable that such trades were found only in England.[32] In Wales, references to smiths are so rare that we cannot tell whether ironworking provided their sole occupation.[33] There was likely to have been some agricultural specialisation in the form of shepherds and pighands, while agents at the estate centres had more specialised functions; the stewards and agents who collected the renders being a case in point.[34] At monasteries and courts we often hear of cooks, bakers and even doorkeepers.[35] It is doubtful if these people spent their whole time cooking and baking, and many may have been monks, but it does point to some specialisation of occupation at the end of the native period. What is clear, however, is that they only appear in association with true centres of wealth and consumption rather than across the society as a whole.[36]

The central point to be drawn from this discussion, is that the population of Morgannwg was concerned first and foremost with food production and that specialisation of occupation was rare until the eleventh century, only being associated with estate centres before that. With this in mind, the range of goods and services available would have been very limited by modern standards. Yet this economy was advanced enough to accommodate exchange of goods, as every group could not provide for all its needs. Such exchanges took a number of forms, an obvious way being raiding, particularly of cattle.[37] Other means of exchange included sale, payment for specified services, and exchanges at an agreed rate.[38] Also notable, however, was exchange by means of gift. Gifts could be given in exchange for services performed, but also as a symbol of a dependent relationship.[39]

The concept of exchange developed throughout the early medieval period, however, and increasingly goods were exchanged for a price without any attendant obligation. Indeed, in many cases the price is stated and swords, clothing, horses, hawks, and dogs were all used as payments for land. Sales must have been relatively common as the Llandâf material includes sales in which values were expressed in terms of cattle and silver.[40] The existence of a cattle standard shows that the population of the south east had a notion of value in relation to exchange.[41] The fact that silver was also used suggests that the native Welsh were at least aware of the convenience of precious metals for exchange, and in the Llandâf material we witness a rise in its usage in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[42] Coin hoards have been discovered at Caerwent and Caerleon which suggest that the native population may have used foreign coins, in these instances Saxon, by weight.[43] There is no conclusive evidence, though, that any coinage was minted in Wales prior to the Norman conquest of England.

The overall picture of exchange mechanisms in Morgannwg would suggest that the amount of commercial exchange taking place was very small, particularly in comparison with England and the rest of western Europe. The evidence, however, points to the existence of some proportion of long distance trade, particularly in relation to luxury goods such as silks and wine.[44] Portskewitt is referred to as one of the 'chief ports' of the island, while the Life of St. Illtyd notes that there was a harbour near the

monastery at Llantwit Major (Llanilltud Fawr). Merchants were also accustomed to come to the mouth of the Usk near Newport.[45] In addition to the trading of luxury goods, there would also appear to have been distance trading in necessities. From the surviving evidence it would seem that such trade followed both sea and land routes, with pack horses being mentioned.[46]

A far more problematic question, however, is the existence of local trade in Morgannwg. There are no explicit references to its existence in the surviving evidence, while one reference in a charter attached to the Life of St. Cadoc suggests its absence. In this charter it is stated that tenants were expected to carry the render from their property to the monastery to which it was owed.[47] Distribution of local produce, therefore, may well have been carried out entirely within the estate system.[48] This would have resulted in very little local trade and the fact that there are no references to markets would appear to support this theory.[49] It is, after all, local trade which is held responsible for the development of markets in the rest of western Europe in the early medieval period. It can only be assumed, therefore, that the lack of markets was due to an absence of local commercial exchange.

Such an apparent lack of local trade and marketing has a direct implication for the development of urban centres in pre-conquest Morgannwg. Some occupation of the Roman town of Venta Silurum (Caerwent) may be supposed as evidence exists in the form of burials, a coin hoard, and a brooch pin from the early medieval period.[50] It must be remembered, however, that Caerwent became a monastery and consequently such material does not mean that a significant non-secular community continued to occupy the site. Of course, there remains the possibility that large monasteries such as Caerwent and Llancarfan may have performed a proto-urban function in providing a context for nucleation, larger populations, gathering of movable wealth, and greater specialisation of function.[51] To award the term 'town' to such a small pre-urban nuclei would be wrong, however, for we cannot even begin to suggest that they possessed any true urban functions.[52] The evidence we have for the development of native Welsh towns during this period is, therefore, almost completely negative. Indeed, aside from the monasteries the only possible exceptions to this apparently non-urban landscape are external influences in the form of Scandinavian and Saxon settlement.[53]

The question of Scandinavian settlement in south eastern Wales is long running and, so far, remains unresolved. The Vikings undoubtedly raided Morgannwg on a frequent basis, with attacks known to have taken place in 915, 988, and 1039.[54] Such raiding had political consequences, but it is the possibility of some form of permanent or semi-permanent settlement which is particularly interesting. The question of Scandinavian settlement in Morgannwg was advanced most fully by D.R. Patterson, who argued that placename evidence suggests substantial settlement in the kingdom, with an urban centre at Cardiff.[55] Caution should be applied to such a bold statement, however. Scandinavian place names are quite common around the coastline of Glamorgan and Gwent, some of the most prominent being Burry Holmes and Worms Head in Gower, Swansea, Tumble Down and Womanby in Cardiff, Flatholm, Steepholm, and Lamby on the Plain of Gwent.[56] Although in some cases such names are derived from maps, and thus have a Welsh equivalent, others do not and this would seem to support Patterson's view. In addition to place name evidence, there is some archaeological evidence of Viking presence in the form of Scandinavian brooches and stirrups found in the Gower peninsular.[57] The stirrups, found at St. Mary

Hill, seem to indicate a pagan burial which might reinforce the idea of Scandinavian settlement in the area. This paucity of evidence makes it extremely difficult to assess the true extent of any Scandinavian presence. On the strength of that evidence which is available, the most that can be said confidently is that a small number of trading stations may have existed along the coast of Morgannwg, as a consequence of the Dublin to Bristol trade route which the Vikings are known to have used.[58] Any communities that grew around such trading stations would have been extremely small, however, and so without evidence to suggest otherwise, the possibility of any Viking urban settlement remains highly unlikely.[59]

The 'Life of St. Gwynllyw', written during the 1120's, contains a tale which suggests a trading centre may have existed in the area of modern Newport.[60] It states that in the time of Edward the Confessor, English merchants frequently came to the mouth of the Usk to trade. However, as Paul Courtney suggests,[61] any pre-Norman trading point at Newport is unlikely to have been accompanied by nucleated settlement of sufficient size to warrant the description 'town'. The site at Newport, and possibly other areas along the coast, was more likely to have resembled the seasonal coastal fairs which existed into modern times along the North Sea littoral.

The possibility of Saxon urban development is again cited by Courtney in the case of Monmouth which he suggests was the site of a late Saxon military buhr. Archaeological investigation has uncovered evidence of an early medieval site which includes the footings of a substantial wooden tower. Courtney considers the area to have fallen into English hands when Ergyng was taken from Morgannwg in the late ninth century, and the possibility exists that some civilian settlement might have developed around the military installation.[62] However, Monmouth stood at the very edge of Ergyng and so some doubt must remain as to whether the site actually lay in a securely English dominated area. Indeed, Steve Clarke, who led excavations at Monnow Street in the town, believes that the structures are native Welsh rather than Saxon.[63] This view of Monmouth as a native Welsh centre is supported by Wendy Davies who has suggested that a concentration of charters around the site of the town in the eighth and ninth centuries point to some pre-urban nucleation, possibly around a royal estate centre.[64] Whatever the origins of the site a true urban centre would seem highly unlikely, particularly given the vulnerable location in a disputed area. The most that can be claimed realistically is the possibility of some pre-urban nucleation.

Clearly, therefore, the pre-conquest urban picture in Morgannwg is almost entirely negative. The best candidates for the designation of being a proto-urban settlement are Caerwent, Llancarfan, Newport, and Monmouth, but there are no suggestions that they possessed truly urban functions or that their populations were anything other than exceptionally small by English or European standards.[65] As Wendy Davies convincingly observes, the major stimuli to urban development in western Europe, markets and local trade, were apparently absent in Morgannwg. Without them, the area could not be expected to develop true urban centres and on present evidence the picture is not just one of minimal urbanisation but of a minimal trend towards urbanisation.[66]

Such an apparently minimal trend is an insufficient basis for suggesting that true urban development would never have developed in Morgannwg. Early medieval Wales was not as isolated from the rest of Europe as has long been maintained. Life was supported, wealth accumulated, and some

trading initiated. With the benefits of time, and the emergence of more advanced government and administration through kingship,[67] there is no convincing reason to suggest that the society of native Wales would not have become sophisticated enough to provide the conditions necessary for subsequent developments such as urbanisation. Indeed, the emergence of towns in native Gwynedd and Powys in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggests this. The commercial advantages to be accrued from controlling markets and fairs in one place were not lost on the native rulers, and a number of towns thus developed on the sites of older trefi or maerdrefi.[68] In south east Wales, however, the time required for such developments to evolve was not available to the native population, with the consequence that the stimulus for town development proved alien and revolutionary rather than native and evolutionary.

EARLY ANGLO-NORMAN SETTLEMENT

It is, therefore, with the onset of the Anglo-Norman invasion that the process of true urbanisation in south-east Wales can be said to begin. The advance into Wales followed soon after the conquest of England and was initially concentrated along the border and the lowland plains which ran along the northern and southern seaboards. As areas were wrested from Welsh control, motte and bailey castles were quickly constructed in strategic positions and in their shadow often emerged infant boroughs. Populated by English, Norman, Breton, and Flemish settlers, the initial role of the fledgling towns was to provide enough food for their population and the soldiers of the castle garrison. In the event of Welsh attack, the townsmen were expected to defend the settlement alongside the garrison. In this initial stage, therefore, the fledgling towns represented an extension of the process of conquest. By a policy of deliberate implantation, the Anglo-Normans sought to establish a dominance in terms of settlement over the areas they won in battle. Indeed, the evidence of town foundation in south east Wales supports this argument. The area of lower Gwent, which may have become subservient to Harold Godwinson immediately before the conquest, was among the first areas in Wales to experience Anglo-Norman incursions.[69] A number of strongholds were built along the border, including a motte at Monmouth, but most important was William Fitz Osbern's stone fortress at Chepstow.[70] Built between 1067 and 1071, it controlled the strategic crossing of the river Wye and was ideally positioned to act as a springboard for the invasion of south east Wales.[71] In order to reinforce this position, a fledgling town soon followed and was valued at £16 in 1086.[72] Progress westwards from Chepstow was initially swift and by the time of the Domesday Survey in 1086, effective Anglo-Norman control had reached as far west as Caerleon where a motte had been erected, either by the Anglo-Normans themselves or the native ruler Caradog ap Gruffydd.[73] There, a small manor called 'Carlion' is entered in the Herefordshire breviat of the Domesday Survey as belonging to William de Scohics with a value of 40s per annum.[74] The castle at Caerleon may have served as the centre of this manor, and while we have no firm evidence of a town at this early stage some settlement might have occurred around the castle.

It was during this same period that first reference is apparently made to the foundation of a town at Cardiff. An entry in the 'Annales Margam' for 1081 reads.

> "On the feast of St. Helen there was a great fire at Winchester.
> And the town of Cardiff was built under the first King William." [75]

This is supplemented by a related reference in a short chronicle written in south-east Wales which reads

"1081. Cardiff was built by William the First." [76]

Unfortunately, both references date from the thirteenth century and possibly represent additions drawn from an earlier English chronicle such as William of Malmesbury's 'De Gestis Regum Anglorum'. This must instill an air of caution. Nevertheless, the fact that a further, seemingly unrelated source, the 'Brenhinedd y Saeson', reads

"1080. The building of Cardiff was begun." [77]

suggests that some form of activity was taking place at Cardiff at this time.

It has been suggested by David Crouch that Cardiff represented an isolated Anglo-Norman outpost which served as a mint, coins having been found marked 'CA(I)ERI' and 'CARITI' of William type VI and William type VIII.[78] This would seem unlikely for a number of reasons, however. Firstly, the numismatic evidence itself can be regarded at best as inconclusive.[79] While it is possible that coinage was struck at Cardiff during William's reign to finance the presence of a garrison, they could equally have been produced anachronistically during Robert Fitz Hamo's occupation of the site from 1093 onwards. At least one of the coins was struck on a recut Bristol die by Swein, a moneyer known to have been active at the Bristol mint during Fitz Hamo's tenure of the lordship of Gloucester.[80] The swift production of currency locally would have been required by Fitz Hamo to meet the financial demands imposed by his actions in Glamorgan. Indeed, the use of obsolete dies was not unusual, coins of William I type V were produced at Bristol as late as Stephen's reign.[81]

Aside from the numismatic evidence, the possibility of permanent settlement at Cardiff by 1081 is not supported by the wider picture of Anglo-Norman settlement in south east Wales at this time. Available evidence suggests that no permanent violation of Morgannwg's borders occurred during the reign of William I.[82] Exploitation of the littoral of the Usk at Caerleon, which is noted in Domesday, is widely considered to represent the limit of Anglo-Norman territorial control. For an isolated outpost to have been constructed in Morgannwg would be at odds with the general evidence which is available for the advance into Wales. Anglo-Norman mottes were built to control land once it had been wrested from the Welsh, the nature of the earth and timber motte and bailey castle being unsuited to holding out against sieges in isolated areas.[83] It was not until the advent of stone construction that castles could successfully perform this role. Consequently, such a castle in 1081 could only have survived if there was a degree of political tolerance.[84]

Indeed, this reliance upon political tolerance may well hold the key to the true nature of William I's involvement at Cardiff.[85] The native ruler of Morgannwg, Caradog ap Gruffydd, gained control of the area of modern-day Glamorgan in 1072 when he defeated Maredudd of Deheubarth at the battle of Rhymney river, apparently with Anglo-Norman help. This co-operation may well have led to Caradog recognising William I as his overlord. Norman military aid may have again been accepted by Caradog at the battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081, when he was killed by Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth. With his vassal in South Wales dead, William would have had to secure the tribute of the victor, Rhys.

This may well have been hastened by the possibility that Normans fighting with Caradog had been captured, as the 'D' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states

> "1081. In this year the king led an army into Wales
> and there liberated hundreds of men." [86]

William was apparently successful in imposing his lordship, as in 1086 it is stated that Rhys paid £40 per annum in tribute.

It would seem likely that the former Roman fortress site at Cardiff saw some form of temporary occupation at this time. From the written primary evidence which has survived, there would seem little doubt that William passed through the area on route to St. David's and the most probable explanation would appear to be that the motte at Cardiff was constructed as a temporary stronghold to assist this royal sojourn into south Wales.[87] Certainly, the massive nature of Cardiff's motte is similar to fortifications commissioned by William in England.[88] Once the submission of Rhys ap Tewdwr had been secured, the castle may well have been abandoned. Whether it was subsequently occupied by the Welsh is unclear, although the possibility exists.[89]

URBANISATION IN GLAMORGAN AND GWYNLLŴG c.1093 – 1217

With the death of William I in 1087, the accommodation which had existed between the Anglo-Normans and the native Welsh came to an end. The new king, William Rufus, pursued a much more aggressive line and when Rhys ap Tewdwr was killed by "the Frenchmen who were inhabiting Brycheiniog" in 1093, a new phase of the Anglo-Norman assault was underway.[90] The invasion of Morgannwg which followed was initiated by Robert Fitz Hamo, lord of Cruelly in Normandy.[91] During this advance on Wales, Rufus installed his own associates in key positions, and consequently Fitz Hamo is likely to have been a member of the military household who was ordered to expand the area of direct Anglo-Norman rule in south-east Wales.[92] The role of Fitz Hamo implies that royal co-ordination as well as individual initiative was important in the initial stages of conquest. None of the chronicles mention the invasion of Morgannwg, but by studying events in Brycheiniog and considering the itinerary of the king, it is possible to estimate a date in the early 1090 s for the initiation of Fitz Hamo's aggression; perhaps 1093.[93] The fertile lowlands were quickly appropriated, and by his death in 1107, Fitz Hamo had secured an area encompassing modern-day South Glamorgan and the lowlands around Newport. A castle was quickly established at Cardiff, possibly incorporating any earlier work by William I, and this acted as the military and administrative caput of the lordship from the outset.[94] A large motte with a wooden keep was erected in the north-west corner of the old Roman enclosure, the walls of which were strengthened with earthen banks and ditches. To the south of the castle a fledgling town was created before Fitz Hamo's death, as a charter granted by him to Tewkesbury Abbey stated that he granted the abbey land in the arm of the Taff as it flowed "beside the borough of Cardiff".[95]

Fitz Hamo also built a castle at Newport at much the same time.[96] A motte was constructed at Allt Gwynllyw, later known as Stow Hill, which tradition suggests was the site of the maerdref and church of the sixth century leader Gwynllyw.[97] The fact that the medieval parish church preserved Gwynllyw's name as St. Woolos, together with the existence of land for cultivation and pasture, suggests that this tradition may have a basis in truth.[98] However, any possible evolution from a sixth century settlement to the foundation of the Anglo-Norman castle is lost in unrecorded time. Indeed, it cannot be said with any certainty that Christian worship was continuously practised there from the sixth century.[99] The motte at Newport was probably built to secure the nearby crossing of the Usk which lay on the 'Port Way', the coastal route from Gloucestershire across south Wales. The existence of a military garrison, together with the ecclesiastical presence which emerged at St. Woolos, probably encouraged a small English community to form.[100] With the security of the castle in place, a manor was established and it would seem that the small implanted community was thus initially concerned with agricultural exploitation.[101]

Fitz Hamo's lordship was not alone in developing fledgling urban settlement in the south-east of Wales during the closing years of the eleventh century. At Monmouth, a Benedictine Priory and the Church of St. Mary were established by Withenoc, a Breton, while to the south of the castle founded by William Fitz Osbern a market place was cleared.[102] Although there is no conclusive evidence of notable urban development at this time, the foundations had clearly been laid out for the future. At Abergavenny, too, the development of an urban centre was begun in the late eleventh century. Around 1090, Hamelin de Ballon erected a motte and bailey castle and soon laid out a small town defended by an earthen bank. As at Monmouth, a Benedictine Priory was founded including the attendant church of St. Mary, while a second church dedicated to St. John was built within the town defences.[103]

The towns which fell into the control of the Clare family in the thirteenth century are the primary focus of this work, however, and both Cardiff and Newport experienced significant developments in the twelfth century. After Fitz Hamo's death, his lands in Wales passed to his son-in-law , Robert the Consul, Earl of Gloucester.[104] Under Earl Robert, Anglo-Norman control over lowland Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg was consolidated and Cardiff castle was further developed as a military and administrative centre.[105] Indeed, it was during Earl Robert's lordship that the development of Cardiff as an urban centre took place.

The dearth of primary written evidence and archaeological excavation for twelfth century Cardiff means that when considering the pattern of the town's development, suggestions must be offered instead of concrete facts. The two features that dominated the town during this early period were the castle to the north and the church of St. Mary, founded by Fitz Hamo c.1100, to the south.[106] It is believed that the early town lay in the shadow of the South Gate of the castle, in the form of an arc which comprised West Street, Womanby Street and St. John's Street (see figure two).[107] A different view has been put forward by David Walker, however, who suggests that this area represents a later development and that the original town lay beyond, perhaps as a linear development running north along St. Mary's Street from St. Mary's Church towards the castle gate.[108] If Walker is correct, Cardiff would be in complete contrast to

the evidence from other contemporary Anglo-Norman boroughs where civil settlements grew up in the immediate shadow of the castle. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that this was also the case at Cardiff. On Speed's plan of 1610 a wall and corner bastion is shown running along the western side of Trinity Street, while a later plan of 1650 indicates a second section running westwards along Church Street.[109] It was here, during street alterations in 1901, that the remains of a thick wall running parallel to the south side of the castle was discovered.[110] These walls may represent the defences of the original borough which extended to enclose St. John's Chapel and which were later rebuilt in stone. The lack of any further evidence precludes a definitive statement, but this argument offers a more attractive conclusion than that of a town located to the south, away from the castle defences.

As the controversy over the location of the original town would suggest, very little is known of the borough during the lordship of Earl Robert. If the town did originally stand in the shadow of the castle, it is possible to envisage a small settlement surrounded by earthen defences. The town appears to have achieved some standing during the first half of the twelfth century as it received a written charter from Earl Robert at some point between 1122 and 1147.[111] Unfortunately, this initial charter appears to have been lost as the first reference to it occurs in a confirmation issued by his son, William, between 1147 and 1183. Consequently, it is difficult to know which of the terms were the work of Robert and which were later grants of William.[112] The clauses of the charter seem designed to attract settlers to what was, after all, an insecure frontier town, and to safeguard their interests once they were settled. The charter offered the inhabitants liberties and customs not enjoyed by men outside the town.[113] Each burgage owed an annual rent of one shilling and in return the burgess received a wide range of privileges. The charter bestowed free status upon the burgesses, and attempted to organise the commercial life of the borough in such a way that both the burgesses and the lord gained maximum advantage.[114] Each burgess was free to dispose of his property by sale, marriage or inheritance; he was not obliged to use the lord's mill, the lord's bakery or the lord's brewery; he could sell his animals without the licence of the lord; and he was free from attending any local court held outside the borough.[115]

In conceding these liberal terms, Robert and William displayed a clear desire to encourage urbanisation at Cardiff. Such a policy had substantial benefits for both the burgesses and the earls themselves. For the burgesses it offered a measure of freedom from many of the restrictions of feudal landholding society, allowing them to carry on with their trading and production in a favourable environment, free from many of the tolls and payments which could prove a serious handicap.[116] For the earls of Gloucester, positive encouragement of growth was desirable for a number of reasons. The conquest of the fertile Vale of Glamorgan was largely completed during the early twelfth century and it was quickly exploited along manorial lines. Earl Robert, with previous experience of urbanisation in his honour of Gloucester, may have seen the merits of establishing Cardiff as the marketing centre for the surrounding area. If he could confine trading to the town, the earl stood to make significant profits from the various tolls and dues which he could levy on traders.

However, while the Vale of Glamorgan was fairly secure in Anglo-Norman hands, the Welsh continued to occupy the mountainous areas to the north and west. Consequently, Cardiff retained its strategic importance as the military and administrative centre of the lordship of Glamorgan. In addition,

at times when agricultural production in Glamorgan was hampered by climatic change or warfare, Cardiff's borough offered the earls of Gloucester a fairly dependable source of income in the form of rents and dues. Such factors combined to give Cardiff an economic importance that exceeded what the town's modest size might suggest.[117]

The desire for commercial vitality appears to have been successful in practice, as by the middle of the twelfth century Cardiff had already emerged as a thriving market town, boasting a fair as early as Earl Robert's day. As its vitality became more pronounced, however, proper regulation of the town became necessary. Indeed, a reeve had existed to act as the lord's official in the borough as early as 1119.[118] As well as the internal regulation of burgesses, however, the regulation of visiting traders was also essential if the earl was to maximise his profits.[119] The charter decreed that the bishop of Llandâf, together with the knights and freeholders who resided in the hundred of Cardiff, were allowed to trade in the borough market for their own purposes free from toll. All others, however, were subject to a toll of 1d. per wagon of corn, peas, ironwork and livestock. Clearly, in the minds of the earls of Gloucester, Cardiff represented a community of sufficient wealth and political value to warrant such attention and privileges.[120]

Urbanisation in Glamorgan was not limited to Cardiff in the first half of the twelfth century. In the western reaches of the lordship, a town appears to have been encouraged at Kenfig by Earl Robert. At the time of his death in 1147, a fortified 'villa' with a gate was already in existence.[121] Meanwhile, further west a small defended settlement of some description had been founded at Neath by 1130, when the foundation charter of Neath Abbey mentions 'ad fossatum nove ville'.[122] The location of this 'new town' is uncertain; it may have stood on the east bank of the River Neath, as did the later town, or on the west bank near the abbey and the castle of Richard de Granville.[123] De Granville had taken the area from its native rulers, the sons of Iestyn ap Gwrgant, in the early twelfth century and held it as a sub-lordship from Earl Robert. If the fledgling settlement did stand on the west bank, nothing further is known of it and it may have failed due to its exposed position at the very limits of Anglo-Norman penetration.[124]

While embryonic urban settlements had emerged at Neath and Kenfig during Earl Robert's lordship, it was under the control of his son, William, that they developed into boroughs. At Neath, the shadowy early settlement gave way to a more permanent foundation. The town grew up on the east bank of the River Neath at a low crossing point, and was awarded the liberties and customs of Cardiff.[125] De Granville's original castle on the west bank of the river appears to have been abandoned, and a new more defensible fortification had been constructed on the east bank by 1185.[126] The location of the town, in the disputed area between the Anglo-Norman controlled lowlands and the Welsh dominated uplands, made it a vulnerable site with an almost constant threat of attack. Indeed, the castle was attacked in 1185 and it is likely that the borough would also have suffered some damage.[127] Unfortunately, the surviving evidence offers no clue as to the size of the borough in the twelfth century, but it may be supposed that it was very small.

It is likely that Kenfig also received the liberties and free customs of Cardiff at this time from Earl William, who also founded the church of St. James in the town.[128] The town and castle of Kenfig were defended by an earthen bank and wooden palisade, but the continuing military struggle between the

Welsh and the Anglo-Normans saw the growing towns become prime targets for Welsh attack. Kenfig was attacked in 1167 and again in 1185, following the death of Earl William two years earlier.[129] The town suffered badly in both attacks, but the first raid was particularly devastating and the town had to be largely rebuilt.[130] Once again, the paucity of the surviving evidence allows us to say little more about twelfth century Kenfig, but the strengthening of the defences, the rebuilding of the town and the probable awarding of Cardiff's liberties demonstrate William's determination to encourage the growth of this implantation.

Thus, during the second half of the twelfth century the boroughs at Neath and Kenfig were still maintaining the military role of the Anglo-Norman town first and foremost. Both were located in the fluid region in western Glamorgan which represented the demarcation between Anglo-Norman and Welsh control. Consequently, they acted in concert with the castles in attempting to subdue the surrounding area by attracting foreign settlers. An economic role would also have existed, however, and both towns probably acted as markets for their localities. Yet until they were served by a more stable hinterland, both were unable to achieve the transformation from military-economic bastion to economic-military-administrative focus that was seen at Cardiff.

The fact was that by the second half of the twelfth century, Cardiff had become a model borough for new plantations: both Neath and (probably) Kenfig drew their liberties from Cardiff's example.[131] Rather than simply being a borough in its own right, Cardiff had quickly assumed the position of caput of the lordship of Glamorgan, and this was reflected in the growth which the town experienced during the late twelfth century. In a charter of c.1150–83 Earl William spoke of the "new borough" that he had created "in the garden of his castle outside the town of Cardiff."[132] Clearly, Earl William saw the opportunity to acquire greater profits by extending the town in order to incorporate further burgage plots. The location of this 'new borough' is uncertain, but the most likely areas would appear to be either outside the East Gate of the town at Crokerton, or outside the North Gate along the road to Senghenydd.[133] Whatever the actual location of this 'new borough', its very existence demonstrates that important developments had taken place in Cardiff's pattern of growth. The conditions imposed by the charters of William and his father had created a climate that actively encouraged urban growth to such an extent that suburban development had apparently occurred outside the town defences.

This apparent physical growth of Cardiff would seem to reflect an expansion in the town's commercial and economic role during the second half of the twelfth century. The precise nature of any such economic developments are unclear due to a lack of surviving evidence, but some suggestions may be offered. The centre of Cardiff's commercial life is likely to have been the market, perhaps located in the High Street from the outset (see figure two). The main artery of land-based trade for the town was the old Roman road, the Port Way, that ran along the south Wales coast. This road ran directly through the town via the East and West gates carrying passing trade. Consequently, the bridge which carried this road across the River Taff was vital in maintaining a good deal of trade. Costly repairs carried out following an attack by the Welsh in 1185 testify to its importance.[134]

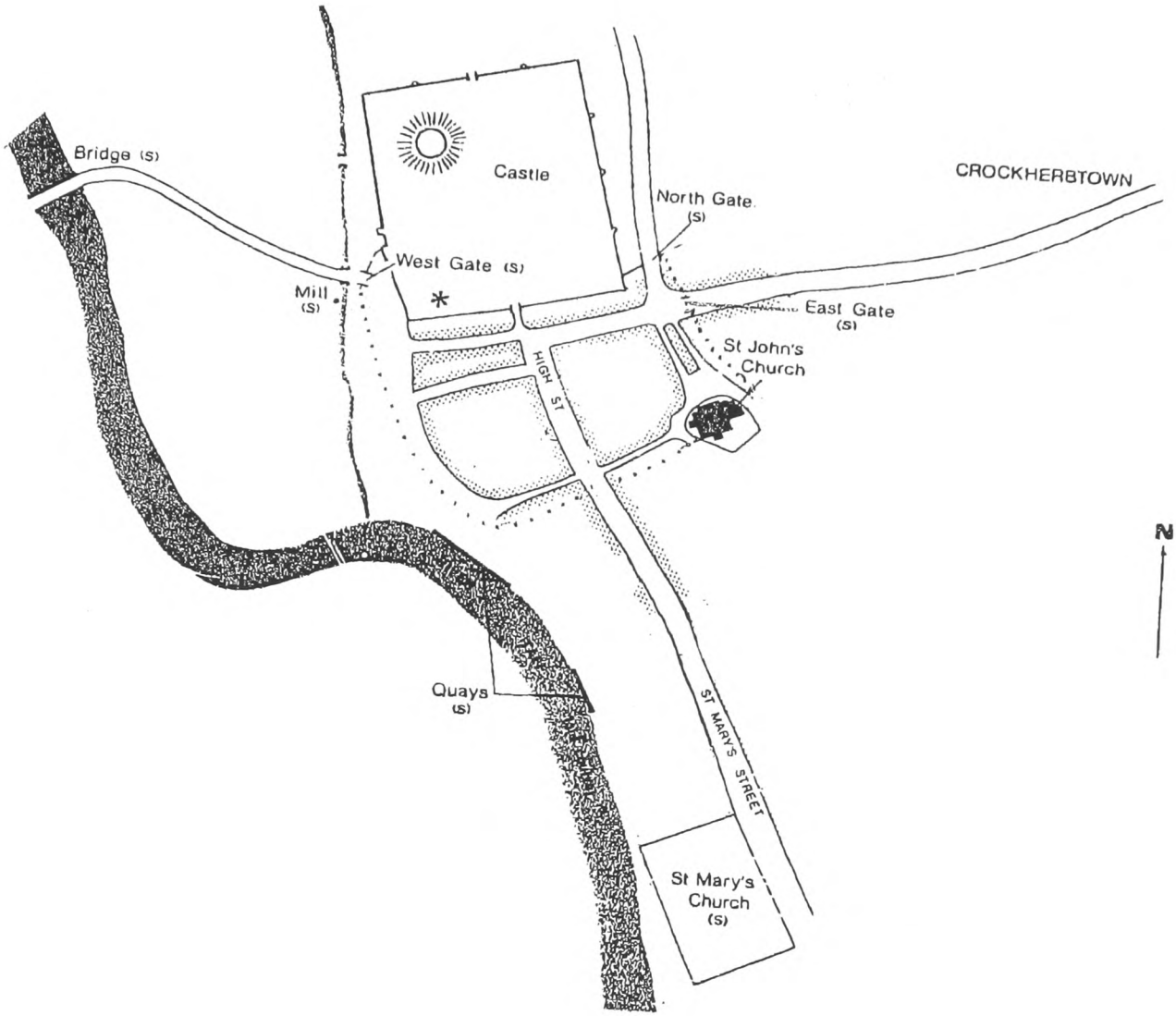
While much of the local trade is likely to have been land-borne at this time, Cardiff possibly also developed as a centre for maritime trade during the twelfth century.[135] As well as the obvious military

advantages, allowing troops and materials to be landed near the castle, quays on the River Taff would have been ideally placed to accept imported goods from the earl's other lands in England and Wales, and from further afield. As the agricultural exploitation of Glamorgan was developed, some export of surplus may also have occurred. There is no indication of such transmarine trade in the surviving twelfth century evidence, but it might have represented a growing consideration.

In the course of one hundred years, therefore, Cardiff underwent a fairly radical transformation. From its origins as a fledgling settlement accompanying Fitz Hamo's original castle it had developed into a marketing centre and administrative focus which lay at the centre of the lordship of Glamorgan. The town of Cardiff was certainly a substantial addition to seigneurial profits, for in 1184 the crown had considered £24 to be a fair half-yearly payment for the farm of the borough.[136] Cardiff's development had not been trouble free, as the Welsh attack of 1185 amply demonstrates, but the borough could certainly have looked forward to the thirteenth century with a degree of confidence.

Urban development was not confined to the lordship of Glamorgan, but continued in varying degrees across the embryonic March of the twelfth century. In neighbouring Gwynllŵg, which was also held by the earls of Gloucester and administered as a virtual sub-lordship of Glamorgan, the small settlement near Fitz Hamo's castle at Newport also evolved into a much more substantial town. As has been seen, a manor had been established at Stow soon after the initial invasion of the area. However, during the early twelfth century the original motte on Stow Hill appears to have been abandoned in favour of a new castle built upon the west bank of the River Usk (see figure three).[137] Located on level ground, the new castle was better sited to protect the point where the Port Way crossed the River Usk. The land-borne trade which this road attracted, together with the access to the sea provided by the Usk estuary, made Newport potentially a lucrative site for a town.[138] Once the agricultural potential of the surrounding lowland area became more intensively exploited, the need for a marketing centre in Gwynllŵg would have become even more obvious.

The town would appear to have been laid out on land which was part of Stow Manor but which had been specifically set aside for the purpose of urban development, either by Fitz Hamo or Earl Robert of Gloucester. A map drawn in 1750, but reputedly based on an earlier map, demonstrates that the western boundaries of the medieval town cut through the fields of Stow Manor.[139] It is, therefore, possible to imagine the initial town growing up around the new castle, and an undated charter by Earl Robert would appear to support this location.[140] In this charter the earl notified Robert Norreys, the sheriff of Cardiff and Prepositus of Newport, that certain lands between his borough and St. Woolos Church had been granted to his chaplain, Picot.[141] This distinction between lands of the church and the borough would appear to indicate that the borough had developed at the bottom of Stow Hill, and that the town's boundaries had not yet extended to the churchyard (see figure three).[142]



Key

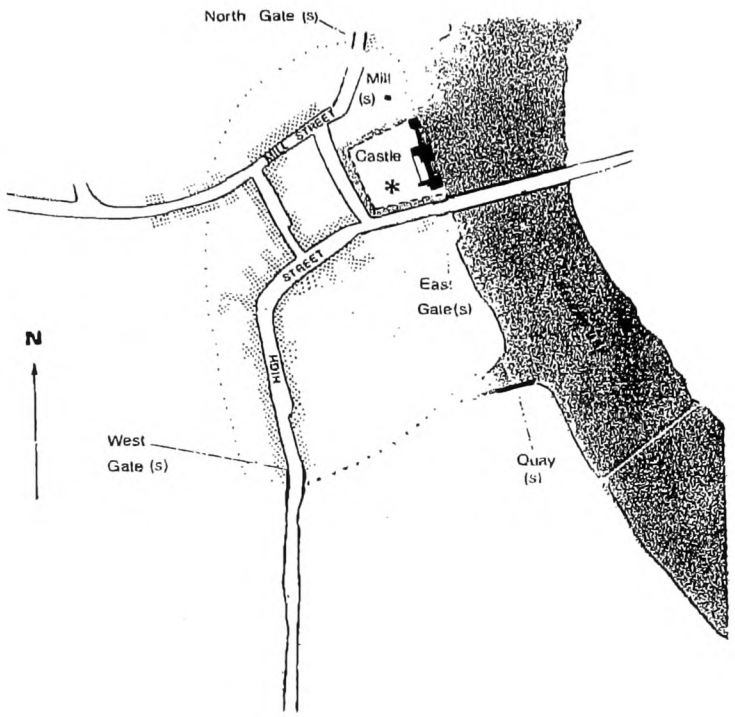
⁞⁞⁞ Built-up areas
* Excavates sites
(s) Site of lost features
† market-place
— Town defences, extant
---- ", course of
.... ", conjectural course

FIGURE TWO: CARDIFF IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

This charter, although undated, is of vital importance to our understanding of Newport's twelfth century development. In addition to the location of the borough, it also provides us with evidence that Newport was constituted as a borough during the early twelfth century, despite the fact that no charter of incorporation exists from this period.[143] The 'burgesses of Newport' are mentioned as having freedom from fiscal exactions, but the charter makes it clear that they were still subject to burgage rents. Indeed, these conditions suggest that Newport may have been granted the same customs as Cardiff, which were also awarded to Neath and Kenfig. This would be logical, since the charter was addressed to the sheriff of Cardiff, which in itself suggests that jurisdictionally Newport was subordinate to Cardiff.[144] Of the internal administrative structure of Newport in this early period, very little is known, but from the evidence of Earl Robert's charter it would appear to have been similar to that of Cardiff. The 'prepositus', or reeve, had been established as the earl's official in the general and financial administration of the borough.

Newport's position as the trading centre of Gwynllŵg would seem to have been reinforced as the twelfth century progressed. The catalyst for commercial development was probably the construction of a bridge that carried the Port Way over the River Usk and delivered it through the East Gate of the town. During the later middle ages a market hall was built on High Street, and it is likely that this area had served as the marketplace since the initial foundation of the town (see figure three). It is unclear when this bridge was first constructed, but some form of structure existed by 1104, as a land grant written before that date mentions land 'juxta pontem Novi Burgi et juxta ripam Uskae'.[145] The importance of the bridge to the town is demonstrated by the Pipe Roll of 1184 – 85 which records sums spent on its repair.[146] As at Cardiff, land-borne trade at Newport may well have been supplemented by the development of maritime trade. The town and castle lay on the west bank of the River Usk, which was easily navigable at high tide by the vessels of the period. On a purely military level, this allowed the castle and lordship in general to be supplied with extra troops and provisions in time of need. On a commercial level, meanwhile, the building of quays would have allowed goods to be traded in greater quantities and over greater distances than by land-borne trade. Unfortunately, no evidence survives to confirm the presence of maritime trade at Newport in the twelfth century, but it can be considered a likely development.

The picture that emerges of twelfth century Newport remains unclear due to this dearth of surviving information. Indeed, even Giraldus Cambrensis, who twice visited the town in c.1171 and 1187, had very little to say about it.[147] However, by supplementing the evidence that is available with a little qualified speculation, it is possible to envisage a steadily developing town which had begun to emerge as the caput of the lordship Gwynllŵg, albeit somewhat subservient to Cardiff. Once again, though, the threat of Welsh attack was never far away, and Newport sustained considerable damage following an assault in 1185 – 86.[148]



Key

⁞⁞⁞ Built-up areas
* Excavates sites
(s) Site of lost features
† market-place
—— Town defences, extant
---- ", course of
.... ", conjectural course

FIGURE THREE: NEWPORT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The death of Earl William of Gloucester in 1183 marked a watershed in the development of urbanisation in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. The twelfth century saw the establishment, consolidation and development of urban centres; in essence it represented the first, pioneer stage. Following William's death, however, the lordships and towns passed into the hands of John, count of Mortain, later King John.[149] During his possession of the lordships, very little is heard of burghal development, other than repairs that were made to urban infrastructures following the Welsh attacks of 1185 – 86. The turmoil of his reign probably meant that John had more pressing interest than the encouragement of his towns in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. Consequently, while the towns still produced welcome income for their lord, it was not until the lordships passed to the de Clare earls of Gloucester and Hertford in 1217 that a second stage of development is discernible.[150]

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE LORDSHIPS OF CAERLEON AND USK

The growth and development of urban settlements in south-east Wales during the twelfth century did not always follow the pattern seen at Cardiff and Newport. Further east at Caerleon, where a castle and manor were established as early as 1086, the situation was very different and far more complicated. The immediate problem that arises when attempting to understand the development of the medieval borough of Caerleon is that there is no firm evidence to suggest the date at which the town was established, or even the identity of its lord.[151] One possibility is that the town may have been initiated by Robert de Chandos, lord of Caerleon, prior to his death in 1120.[152] De Chandos was responsible for founding Goldcliffe Priory further to the south, and one may imagine him founding a town at Caerleon to complement the manor and castle and act as the economic centre of his lordship. If de Chandos did encourage urban development at Caerleon, however, there is no surviving evidence to confirm the suggestion.

Throughout the twelfth century, Caerleon formed a part of the disputed area which lay between the Anglo-Norman dominated lowlands and the Welsh-held uplands, making it vulnerable to Welsh attack. This vulnerability was fully exposed following de Chandos' death, particularly as the anarchy of Stephen's reign caused political turmoil in England and the March. The leaders of native resistance in Gwent Uwchcoed, upper Gwent, were Morgan ab Owain and Iorwerth ab Owain, grandsons of the last King of Gwent, Caradog ap Gruffydd.[153] Infected with the general mood of resistance which swept through Wales, they ambushed and killed Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, lord of Ceredigion, in the Vale of Usk as he returned to his lordship from visiting the king.[154] Buoyed up by their success, the brothers descended from the hills and captured a considerable part of lowland Gwent, including the castles at Usk and Caerleon.[155]

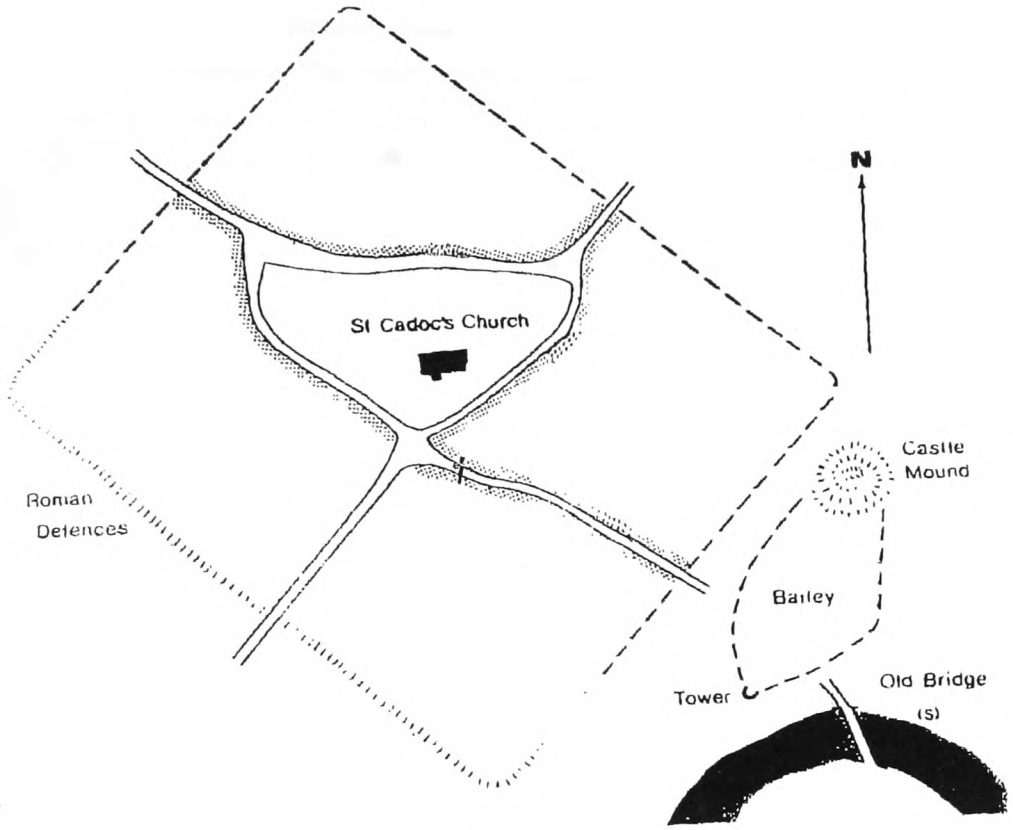
Thus, by the end of 1136 Morgan and Iorwerth ab Owain had regained a substantial part of their grandfather's kingdom, except for the area around the borough of Newport. Then, displaying keen political awareness, the brothers reached agreement with Robert, earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan, and retained their conquest in return for alliance and homage.[156] Consequently, Morgan and Iorwerth were relatively secure in their new possessions and it may have been the case that they, not de Chandos, were responsible for developing the town at Caerleon.[157] Caerleon castle would appear to have

served as the centre of the Welsh lordship of Caerleon for the remainder of the twelfth century.[158] With the castle as the administrative centre, it is conceivable that a small town was encouraged to act as the economic and commercial centre, inspired by the Anglo-Norman examples being implanted across the March.[159] This is a fairly startling suggestion, as such a development is without parallel in the southern March.[160] Nevertheless, it remains a possibility, although the absence of written evidence makes it impossible to be certain. Whatever the true origins of urbanisation at Caerleon, a town was certainly in existence there during the third quarter of the twelfth century. The earliest surviving reference to the town of Caerleon dates from 1171, when it was held by the crown and Iorwerth ab Owain made an unsuccessful attempt to retake it by force.[161] Iorwerth regained possession of Caerleon in 1173 and following his death two years later, the town and castle passed to his son Hywel. Indeed, in a confirmatory charter of 1290 Hywel is recorded as having granted two burgages in the town to Goldcliffe Priory, providing further evidence of the existence of a borough at Caerleon by the end of the twelfth century.[162]

More than any other town of the southern March, Caerleon's medieval form was shaped by the previous developments on the site. When Gerald of Wales visited the area in the late twelfth century, he reported that the remains of the Roman legionary fortress were still prominently visible.[163] Of particular interest in terms of urban implantation would have been the walls of the old fortress. The amount of deterioration which they had suffered by the twelfth century is unclear, but with some supplementary earthworks it would have offered a defensible site at which to establish the town. Further protection was provided by the motte and bailey castle which lay to the immediate south-east of the Roman enclosure (see figure four).

The economic and administrative role of Caerleon in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is shrouded by a lack of evidence, but it is reasonable to expect the motivations behind its implantation to resemble those of the other towns of the area. As with Newport, Caerleon was situated at a crossing of the River Usk and this would have allowed the town and castle to control and exploit the surrounding lowlands.[164] The surrounding agricultural lands which fell under the jurisdiction of the native lords of Caerleon were quite substantial. As a part of the treaty with Earl Robert of Gloucester, the earl conceded a large part of the coastal levels of Wentlŵg to Morgan. Combined with the existing manor of Caerleon, this gave the town a fertile hinterland.[165] The River Usk was also navigable as far as Caerleon during the medieval period, providing direct access to the sea.[166] To what extent Caerleon acted as a port during the twelfth century, however, is unclear.

The surviving evidence for twelfth century Caerleon is extremely sparse, and this makes it extremely difficult to provide an accurate explanation of the town's fabric during this period. The street plan of the fledgling borough probably in part followed the surviving Roman pattern, possibly in the central area of the enclosure around St. Cadoc's Church. In later centuries the pattern of the town is known to have followed the Roman original in many respects, altered in some areas to accommodate the remains of Roman buildings which may have fallen into the original streets.[167] However, while the burgages of the later town lined most of the streets within the enclosure, the twelfth century borough would have been much more modest in size.[168]



Key

⁞⁞⁞	Built-up areas	—	Town defences, extant
*	Excavates sites	- - - -	", course of
(s)	Site of lost features	. . . .	", conjectural course
†	market-place		

FIGURE FOUR: CAERLEON C.1267 (AFTER SOULSBY)

In addition to the developments which took place in Caerleon, the twelfth century witnessed urban development further to the north-east in the Usk basin. The chronology of the Anglo-Norman occupation of this area of Gwent Uwch-Coed has aroused some controversy, but by the 1090's it appears to have been under direct Anglo-Norman control.[169] The area originally formed part of the lordship of Netherwent, which later fragmented into the smaller lordships of Striguil, Usk and Caerleon. In 1115 Netherwent was granted to Walter fitz Richard of the cadet branch of the Clare family.[170] Walter fitz Richard's hold was brief, however, for in 1138 he died and the area was seized, along with Caerleon, by Morgan ab Owain in the confusion of the Anarchy.[171]

Unlike the contemporary situation at Caerleon, there is no firm evidence to suggest that urban implantation occurred at Usk either before or during the period of native Welsh control.[172] Indeed, the first specific reference to the existence of a town at Usk dates from the period following the recapture of the area by Richard fitz Gilbert, lord of Striguil, in 1174.[173] This reference is in a charter granting land to Usk priory, the terms of which survive in a confirmation of 1330.[174] Although the original has been lost, the survival of the terms, together with the original witness list, allows some indication of the date of the first charter. Through careful study of the witness list, it is possible to arrive at a date between 1170 and 1176.[175] This charter represents the foundation charter of the priory at Usk, but it also mentions the borough, and it would seem likely that both were created immediately after the area was wrested from Welsh hands.[176]

The foundation of a town at Usk may, therefore, have had two separate yet interrelated aims. Having won control of the area from the Welsh, it was an obvious step for Richard fitz Gilbert to consolidate his hold by establishing a borough to support the existing castle. At the same time, the foundation of an urban settlement at Usk can also be seen to be an example of a seigneur wishing to maximise the revenue from his estates.[177] The town was founded upon flat, flood-prone land which was not easily defended.[178] Yet as Beresford observes, rapid commercial development was most likely to occur in towns which were easily accessible, and the price paid for this ease of access might be a poor defensive position.[179] Even in the March, where warfare was a fact of life, no fortified town of any size could survive without a flourishing local economy that went further than supporting the garrison of the adjacent castle.[180]

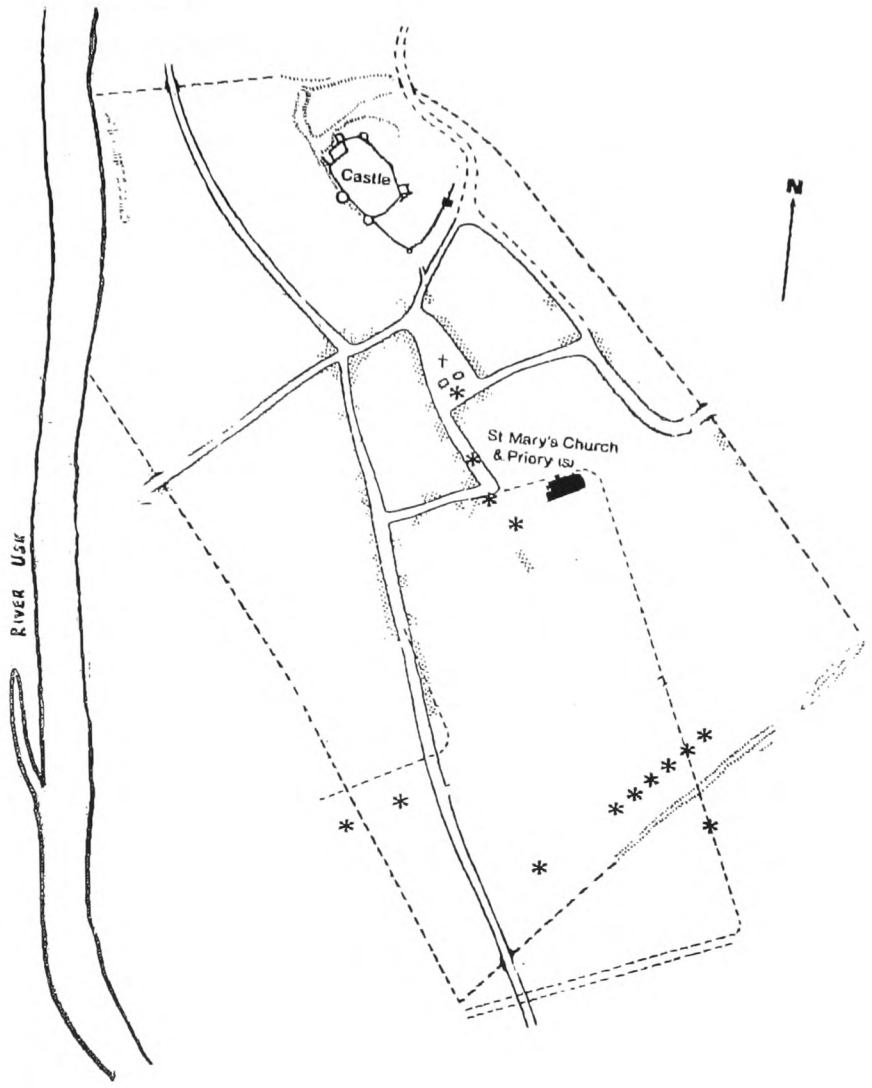
It was, therefore, with these prerequisites for long term survival and success in mind that Richard fitz Gilbert chose the site for the borough of Usk. As with the other towns examined here, Usk was well placed to act as the marketing centre for the surrounding manorial lands and the nearby land of the Welshry. This position was further enhanced in so much as it was well served by local land routes and the River Usk, both of which were important in sustaining the town's economic role. However, unlike Caerleon's position, the River Usk here would not have been navigable for sea-going vessels, although it would have been accessible to small boats.[181] Consequently, while the river could support local river-traffic, it did not provide Usk with the direct access to the sea enjoyed by Cardiff, Newport, Neath, Kenfig and Caerleon.

Despite the apparent economic motivation behind the choice of site, a measure of defence was still required in the town's layout. The castle, which stood to the north-west of the town, had been

constructed early in the century as a fairly typical timber pallisaded motte and bailey. Once control of the area had been regained from the Welsh, the castle was strengthened and a stone keep added.[182] The town itself appears to have been defended from the outset by a ditch, bank and wooden palisade.[183] A section of the ditch, the Clawdd Ddu, survives to this day and formed a part of its southern defence (see figure five). The ditch would appear to have continued along the eastern and northern sides of the borough, but little trace of it remains.[184] The river offered a natural line of defence to the west, but there is evidence of a further ditch, dating from the thirteenth century, running parallel to it. However, this western ditch may have served as a mill leat, or even as a boundary to restrict the access of livestock to the town's meadowland, rather than as a military defence.[185] Morrice's plan of 1800 demonstrates that the later town was served by four gates at the cardinal points of the compass, but whether all were a feature of the twelfth century town is unclear.[186] The West Gate led towards a bridge across the Usk in the later middle ages. First referred to in 1383, when a Nigel Chepstow bequeathed money for its repair in his will, the bridge is discussed in detail later in this study.[187] To have needed repair it must have been erected some time before, but whether it existed as early as the twelfth century, however, is unclear.[188]

The defences ran to some 2,200 yards in length, enclosing an area far greater than that covered by the initial borough. This in itself is not unusual, however, as many medieval town ditches incorporated large areas of undeveloped land, often in anticipation of further growth. The central core of development which took place in the late twelfth century occurred to the south of the castle in the area around and to the east of Twyn Square (see figure five).[189] The choice of this area as the centre of the new borough was undoubtedly due to topography as this part of the enclosure flooded infrequently, if ever, unlike the land to the south east.[190] Twyn Square has the appearance of being a primary market place, although only archaeological excavation could establish this conclusively.[191] Such provision of a market place would have been entirely in keeping with Usk's relatively late foundation. In towns of early foundation, broad streets acted as markets, with market places like Twyn Square added later.[192] The burgage plots in this area were set out in a fairly regular grid pattern, similar to the initial development at Cardiff. It would seem likely, however, that in its original form the north-eastern bloc of Usk was not truly quadrilateral in outline, but extended up to the gate of the castle.[193] To the south of Twyn Square stood the priory founded by Richard fitz Gilbert, and the way in which it fitted into the street plan appears to add further weight to the view that the town and priory were conceived and developed together.[194]

Although he can be credited with founding the borough and instigating its development, Richard Fitz Gilbert died in 1176. His son and only male heir, Gilbert, died aged twelve in 1185 and consequently his lands passed to Richard's daughter, Isabel, and her husband William Marshal in 1189. It would seem, therefore, that while Usk borough was founded by the cadet branch of the Clare family, much of the development which has been discussed was, in fact, the work of the Marshals. Certainly, in the early thirteenth century William Marshal undertook further developments at Usk castle. The palisaded enclosure of the bailey was replaced by a stone curtain wall, punctuated by circular stone towers. The improvements at Usk were typical of Marshal, and mirrored his alterations at Chepstow.[195] Within the town itself, there is no evidence to suggest growth outside its original location in the north-east of the



Key

⁞⁞⁞ Built-up areas	— Town defences, extant
* Excavates sites	---- ", course of
(s) Site of lost features	.... ", conjectural course
† market-place	

FIGURE FIVE: USK c.1246

enclosure during the first half of the thirteenth century, either during the lordship of the elder William Marshal or that of his five sons who followed him in quick succession.[196]

The period of Marshal lordship over Usk and Striguil also saw the re-establishment of Marcher control over the borough and lordship of Caerleon. In 1217 the elder William Marshal defeated the Welsh lord of Caerleon, Morgan ap Hywel, and added the lordship to his existing Marcher lands.[197] Morgan took his case to the royal court in 1220 in an attempt to recover his lands, but he would appear to have been unsuccessful as William still held Caerleon on his death in 1231.[198] Following William's death, however, Morgan held Caerleon castle for the royal justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, against an attack by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.[199] The reasons behind Morgan's alliance with the English against Llywelyn are unclear, but it may be that he sought to recover Caerleon by currying favour with the King. Ultimately he failed, although he retained control over two commotes, Llebeneth and Edelegan.[200]

During the period of Marshal control, the borough of Caerleon suffered a serious setback to its development. In the attack launched by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1231, the castle at Caerleon had held out under Morgan ap Hywel but the borough itself was not so fortunate, and was apparently 'reduced to ashes'.[201] Such thorough devastation meant that the borough would effectively have had to be rebuilt, and it would seem that the rebuilding programme further changed the face of the medieval town. The Roman remains which Gerald of Wales noted contained a great deal of valuable building stone. Richard Marshal appears to have recognised the potential and it is possible that much of the remains were demolished for their stone; indeed, St. Cadoc's Church seems to have been rebuilt about this time using stone robbed from the fortress buildings.[202]

The long period of Marshal control over Striguil, Usk and Caerleon finally came to an end in 1245 with the death of Anselm, the youngest son of William Marshal. Each of William's sons had died without a surviving male heir, and consequently the estates were divided amongst the female heirs. The Marshal Partition saw the lordship of Striguil, including the town and castle of Chepstow, pass to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, through his mother, Maud Marshal. The lordship of Usk, meanwhile, passed to Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan, through his mother Isabel Marshal. The most complicated division occurred at Caerleon where the lands passed to Agnes de Vesey and Maud de Kyme, daughter of Sybil Marshal and William de Ferrers, the earl of Derby.[203]

The Marshal Partition thus added the lordship of Usk to the lordships of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg which the Clares had inherited earlier in the century. The partition held further possibilities for the family, which were exploited by Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare (the 'Red Earl') in 1267 – 68. Caerleon lordship stood between his existing lordships, and possession of it would allow him to complete a bloc of Clare lordships that would stretch across south-east Wales. Gilbert achieved this by exchanging Clare lands in England for the shares of Caerleon lordship held by Maud and Sybil, a development which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter of this study.

The process of urban implantation and urban development which occurred in the lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk prior to their assimilation under Clare control, closely reflects wider urbanisation in the southern March as a whole. The twelfth and early thirteenth centuries witnessed

the consolidation of urban settlement from small appendages to the castles into true boroughs with an important and developing commercial and administrative role. Of course, the pattern of development and expansion was not uniform across the lordships, as the respective size and importance of Cardiff and Neath bears testimony. Nevertheless, the commercial potential of urban settlement had been demonstrated. The challenge which faced the Clare family in the following period was to exploit further this commercial potential.

Notes

1. Davies, W. (1982) Wales in the Early Middle Ages. p. 5.
2. Ibid. pp. 10 - 11.
3. Davies, R.R. (1987) The Age of Conquest. p. 9.
4. Davies, J. (1992) A History of Wales. p. 98.
5. Ibid.
6. For a full discussion of the political development of S. E. Wales see Davies, W. (1982) pp. 93 – 105.
7. Ibid. pp. 103 – 4.
8. Ibid. p. 114.
9. Davies, J. (1992). P. 87.
10. Ibid.
11. The fact that Harold constructed a hunting lodge at Portskewitt may suggest that full English control over Gwent Is-Coed was imminent. Courtney argues that it was Harold's military and political influence over the area which provided the motivation for the occupation of the area by his successor as earl of Hereford, William Fitz Osbern. Courtney, P. 'The Norman Invasion of Gwent : A Reassessment.' Journal of Medieval History. 12 (1986). pp. 297 – 313.
12. Davies, W. (1982). p. 31.
13. Ibid. p. 35.
14. Fawtier, R. (1912) Taylor, R. (trans.) (1923) La Vie de S. Samson. ch. 16 : Alcock. L. (1963) Dinas Powys. pp. 34 – 42.
15. Jones, G. and T. (1949) The Mabinogion. p. 114.
16. Bromwich, R. (1961) Trioedd Ynys Prydein. p. 26 : Jones, G. and T. (1949). p. 105.
17. Davies, W. (1978) An Early Welsh Microcosm. p. 53 : Wade-Evans, A.W. (1944) Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae. V. Cadoci cc. 7, 22 and V. Gundleii cc. 6, 15.
18. Davies, W. (1978). p. 53.
19. Idem (1982). pp. 41 – 2.
20. Ibid. p. 42.
21. Ibid.
22. Mommsen, M. (ed.) (1889) 'Historia Brittonum' in Chronica Minora Sacc. IV, V, VI, VII, III; trans. In Wade-Evans, A.W. (1938) Nennius's History of the Britons. pp. 35 – 84, 114 – 21, ch. 32.
23. Jones, G.R. 'Post Roman Wales'. The Agrarian History of England and Wales. I. Pt. 2, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (1972). pp. 281 – 382 : idem. 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement' in Medieval Settlement. ed. P. Sawyer (1976). pp. 15 – 40.
24. Ibid.
25. Davies, W. 'Land and Power in early Medieval Wales'. Past and Present. LXXXI (1978). pp. 12 – 15. 21f.
26. Idem (1982). p. 46.
27. Ibid.
28. Alcock, L. (1963). pp. 44 – 7 : Evans, J.G. (ed.) (1893) The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. p. 151 b.
29. Davies, W. (1978) p. 53f.
30. Richards, M. (1954) The Laws of Hywel Dda (The Book of Blegywryd). pp. 41, 106.

31. Davies, W. (1982) p. 49 : all are evidenced at Dinas Powys, see Alcock, L. (1963) pp. 44 – 7.

32. Gantz, J. (trans.) (1976) The Mabinogion. pp. 87 – 8.

33. Davies, W. (1982). p. 50.

34. James, J.W. (ed.) (1967) Rhigyfarch's Life of David. ch. 38 : Wade-Evans (1944) V. Cadoci cc. 24, 43, 58, 62, 65 : V. Iltuti ch. 24 : Stokes, W. 'The Welsh glosses and verses in the Cambridge Codex of Juvencus. The Old Welsh glosses at Oxford'. Transactions of the Philiological Society. (1860 – 61). p. 222.

35. Nash-Williams, V.E. (1950) The Early Christian Monuments of Wales. no. 149 : Bromwich. R. (1961). p. 44 : James, J.W. (1967) p. 38 : Stevenson, W. (1929) Early Scholastic Colloquies. ch. 5. Fawtier (1912) ch. 16 : Wade-Evans (1944). V. Samsonis. ch. 16. V. Cadoci. ch. 1.

36. Davies, W. (1982) p. 50.

37. Williams, I. (ed.) (1960) Canu Taliesin passim.

38. Davies, W. (1982) p. 51.

39. Ibid. pp. 51 – 2.

40. Idem (1978). pp. 51 – 4.

41. Idem (1982). p. 53.

42. Idem (1978). pp. 59 – 61.

43. Courtney (1986). p. 303.

44. Winterbottom, M. (trans.) (1978) Gildas. The Ruin of Britain. ch. 3 : Wade-Evans (1938). ch. 9.

45. Bromwich (1961). p. 37 : Davies, W. (1978) p. 61 : Wade-Evans (1944). V. Iltuti. cc. 13, 15 : V. Gundleii. ch. 13.

46. Wade-Evans (1938). ch. 40 : Bromwich (1961). p. 43.

47. Wade-Evans (1944). V. Cadoci. ch. 59.

48. See above. pp. 4 – 5.

49. Davies, W. (1982). p. 57.

50. See above. p. 7 : Davies, W. (1978). p. 61.

51. Davies, W. (1982). pp. 57 – 8.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid. pp. 57 – 8.

54. Ibid. p. 66f.

55. Patterson, D. 'Scandinavian influence in the place and early personal names of Glamorgan'. Arch Camb. LXXV (1920) pp. 35 – 6.

56. Davies, W. (1982). p. 118f.

57. Lane, A.M. 'The Vikings in Glamorgan' Glamorgan County History Vol. II. pp. 354 – 5.

58. Ibid : Loyn. H.R. (1976) The Vikings in Wales. passim.

59. Davies, W. (1992) Patterns of Power. pp. 55 – 6.

60. Wade-Evans (1944). V. Gundleii. 185.

61. Courtney, P. (1994) Report on the Excavations at Usk : Medieval and Later Usk. pp. 111 – 2.

62. Ibid : Idem (1986) pp. 297 – 313.

63. Steve Clarke. pers. comm.

64. Davies, W. (1978). p. 62.

65. Idem (1982). pp 57 – 8.

66. Ibid ; Duby. G. (1973) The Early Growth of the European Economy. pp. 120 – 54.

67. For a full explanation of political developments in native Wales, see Davies, W. (1982). pp. 85 – 140 and Idem (1992). passim.

68. Soulsby, I. (1983) The Towns of Medieval Wales. pp 16 – 17.

69. Courtney (1986). pp. 301 –3 : as has been noted, following the death of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, Harold built a hunting lodge at Portskewitt and may have either exercised direct control over Is-Coed or have established client rule through Rhydderch ap Caradog who is mentioned as ruling the area in a twelfth century entry in the Book of Llandaf.

70. Perks, J. (1967) Chepstow Castle. pp. 5. 20 – 1, 42 : Knight, J. (1986) Chepstow Castle. passim.

71. Howell, R. (1988) A History of Gwent. p. 50.

72. Farley, A. (ed.) (1783) Liber Censualis vocatus Domesday Book. Vol. I. f. 62.

73. Soulsby (1983). p. 87.

74. Domesday Book. Vol. I. f. 185b.

75. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1864) Annales Monastici. Rolls Series. 36. Vol. I. p. 4.

76. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent. Vol. III. p. 858.

77. Jones, T. (ed.) (1971) Brenhinedd y Saeson. 1080.

78. Crouch, D. 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan'. Morgannwg XXIX (1985). p. 28.

79. Williams, A.G. 'Norman Lordship in south east Wales during the reign of William I'. Welsh History Review. 16 (1993). pp. 459 – 60.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Courtney (1986). p. 66.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Whitelock, D. (ed.) (1961) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. p. 27.

87. Williams, A.G. (1993). loc. cit.

88. Ibid.

89. One other theory has been put forward by Paul Courtney who argues that the coins may have been minted by Rhys ap Tewdwr in order to pay his tribute. Once William had left the area, the motte might have been taken over by Rhys who established a mint there. This is an attractive theory which would also explain the minting of similar coins at St. David's, but unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to substantiate it. Courtney. P. 'The First Welsh Mints and the Origins of Cardiff'. Morgannwg. XXX (1986). p. 334.

90. Jones, T. (ed.) (1955) Brut y Tywysogyon : Red Book of Hergest Version. 1093.

91. Griffiths, R.A. 'The Medieval Boroughs of Glamorgan and Medieval Swansea'. Glamorgan County History. Vol. III (1971). p. 334.

92. Davies, R.R. (1987) The Age of Conquest. p. 35.

93. Crouch, D. (1985). p. 30.

94. Rees, W. (1969) Cardiff : A History of the City. pp. 6 – 7.

95. Clark, G.T. (1910). I. no. 34. p. 37.

96. Soulsby (1983). p. 203.

97. Ibid : Reeves, A.C. 'Newport'. In Griffiths, R.A. (ed.) (1978) Boroughs of Medieval Wales. p. 189.

98. Reeves (1978). p. 189.

99. Ibid. p. 190.

100. Soulsby (1983). p. 203.

101. Reeves, A.C. (1979) Newport Lordship 1317 – 1536. p. 113.

102. Caley, J. and Ellis. H. (eds.) (1817 – 30) Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum. IV. p. 595 : Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N. (1971) Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales. p. 71 : Round, J.H. (ed.) (1899) Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. p. 406 : Kissack, K.E. (1974) Medieval Monmouth. p. 68.

103. Round (1899). pp. 367 – 8.

104. Fitz Hamo was survived by no male heir and his lands passed to his daughter, Mabel.

105. Walker, D.G. 'Cardiff', in Griffiths, R.A. (1978). pp. 106 – 110.

106. Caley and Ellis (1817 – 30). ii. p. 66. St. Mary's was founded as a priory attached to Tewkesbury Abbey.

107. Rees, W. (1969). p. 19. This arc is clearly visible on Speed's plan of 1610.

108. Walker, D.G. (1978). p. 113.

109. Birch, W. de Gray (1902) History of Neath Abbey. pp. 216 – 7.

110. Rees (1969). p. 19.

111. Ibid. p. 54.

112. Clark, G.T. (1910). I. pp. 94 – 7. 104 : II. p. 248 : Matthews, J.H. (1898) Cardiff Records. I. pp. 12 – 13.

113. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 335.

114. Ibid.

115. Clark, G.T. (1910). I. pp. 94 – 7 : Matthews (1898). I. pp. 12 – 13. Some care must be taken with this charter, however, as the surviving manuscript may well be a thirteenth century copy. It begins "These are the liberties and free customs of Cardiff and Tewkesbury given and granted by Robert and William, sometime earls of Gloucester". The link between the towns is obvious, as both were part of the same seigneurial inheritance. Indeed, Tewkesbury may have been the origin of some of Cardiff's burgesses, or at least acted as a central mustering point for prospective burgesses. Thus it would have made eminent sense to grant Tewkesbury's liberties and customs to Cardiff. However, the charter concludes "This is the end of the liberties and customs of Tewkesbury", which may indicate that the scribe regarded it as primarily relating to Tewkesbury. While both towns probably did enjoy virtually the same liberties and customs, some of the clauses may relate more to Tewkesbury; particularly those which refer to the 'hundred'. There is no evidence to suggest that the hundred was used as an administrative unit in medieval Glamorgan. Also, the clause exempting burgesses from tolls in Gloucester and the honour of Gloucester would have been more beneficial to those living in Tewkesbury. For a detailed argument of this point, see Robinson. W.R.B. 'The Charters of Cardiff : some neglected aspects'. Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies. May 1980.

116. Walker (1978). p. 121.

117. Ibid.

118. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 336 : the earliest known is William 'de Cardi' (of Cardiff) who held the post in 1119.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid. p. 342.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. Soulsby (1983). p. 189.

125. Francis, G.G. (1845) Original Charters of Neath and its Abbey. without pagination.

126. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1866) 'Annales de Margam' in Annales Monastici. Vol. IV. p. 18.

127. Ibid.

128. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 338 : Clark. G.T. (1910) Cartae. I. pp. 103, 111, 116, 154 : IV. pp. 1219 – 20 : Llywelyn, R.W. 'The Borough of Kenfig'. Archaelogiea Cambrensis. 5th Series. XV (1898). p. 144 : Matthews (1898). I. pp. 5 – 6.

129. Richards, A.J. 'Kenfig Castle'. Archaeologia Cambrensis. 7th Series. VII (1927). pp. 162 – 63.

130. Ibid.

131. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). pp. 337 – 8.

132. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. I. p. 104. : Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973) Earldom of Gloucester Charters. p. 63.

133. Walker, D.G. (1978). pp. 111 –13. A further suggestion put forward by Walker is that the 'garden' was the area of closely packed streets under the south wall of the castle shown on Speed's plan. For the reasons previously given, however, this would seem unlikely.

134. Luard, H.R. (1866) 'Annales de Margam'. pp. 17 – 18 : Pipe Roll 31 Henry II (Pipe Rolls Society). XXIV. pp. 5 – 6 : Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. I. p. 170.

135. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). pp. 335 – 7.

136. Clark. G.T. (1910) Cartae. I. pp. 172 3.

137. Soulsby (1983). p. 203.

138. Reeves (1978). p. 190.

139. Idem (1979). p. 113.

140. Patterson, R.B. (1973). no. 162.

141. Ibid.

142. Reeves (1978). p. 190.

143. Patterson, R.B. (1973). loc. cit. and note.

144. Ibid.

145. Hart, W.H. (1863 – 67) Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri. Gloucestriae. (Rolls Series). Vol. II. p. 50.

146. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. I. p. 171.

147. Dimock, F. (cd.) (1868) Giraldus Cambrensis Opera. IV. pp. 55. 61 – 2.

148. Pipe Roll 31 Henry II. pp. 5 – 10, 127, 144, 155 : Ibid. 32 Henry II. p. 29, gives details of the repairs made to Newport castle following the assault.

149. See below, chapter two.

150. Ibid.

151. This problem is heightened by the fact that we don't know whether there was some sort of pre-conquest settlement at Caerleon, either monastic or other. The reference in the Brut y Tywysogyon to the 'monastery of Caerleon upon Usk, which is called Deuma' would suggest there was. Jones. T. (1955). 1179 ; and Howell. R. pers. comm.

152. Courtney, P. (1994). p. 114.

153. Crouch, D. (1985). p. 33 : Howell, R. (1988) A History of Gwent. p. 51.

154. Howell, R. (1988). loc. cit.

155. Crouch, D. (1985). loc. cit.

156. Ibid.

157. Courtney, P. (1994). loc. cit.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid.

160. Ralph A. Griffiths. pers. comm.

161. Jones, T. (ed.) (1952) Brut y Tywysogyon : Peniarth MS. 20 Version. p. 66.

162. Calendar of Charter Rolls. Vol. II. p. 360.

163. Dimcock (1868). I. vi. p. 55.

164. Courtney, P. (1994). loc. cit.

165. Crouch, D. (1985). p. 33.

166. Courtney, P. (1994) loc. cit.

167. Stanford, S.C. (1980) The Archaeology of the Welsh Marches, passim.

168. At its medieval peak, c.1314 – 15, Caerleon had over two hundred burgages, but there are no surviving accounts from which we may calculate its twelfth century size.

169. Courtney, P. (1986). pp. 297 – 313 : Crouch, D. (1985). pp. 20 – 41.

170. Evans, J.G. (ed.) (1893) The Book of Llan Dav. pp. 93 – 4.

171. Jones, T. (ed.) (1955) Brut y Tywysogyon : Red Book of Hergest Version. pp. 163 – 5.

172. Orderic Vitalis reported that Morgan 'held Usk', but he appears to be referring to the castle : Le Prevost. A. (ed.) (1838 – 55) Historia Ecclesiastica. Vol. V. p. 110.

173. Courtney, P. (1994). p. 98.

174. British Library. Additional Charter 5342.

175. Courtney, P. (1994). p. 110.

176. Ibid. p. 98.

177. Ibid.

178. Mein, A.G. (1986) Norman Usk – The Birth of a Town. pp. 71 – 72.

179. Beresford, M. (1967) New Towns of the Middle Ages. p. 186.

180. Ibid. p. 181.

181. Courtney, P. (1994). p. 114.

182. Pipe Roll. 20 Henry II. p. 22 : For a discussion of the castle's development see Knight. J. 'Usk Castle and its affinities', in Apted. M. et al. (1977) Ancient Monuments and their interpretations : Essays presented to A.J. Taylor. pp. 139 – 54.

183. Mein (1986). p. 48.

184. Ibid. pp. 46 – 70 : Courtney (1994). p. 104.

185. Courtney (1994). loc. cit.

186. Printed in Ibid. p. 97.

187. Bristol Record Office. Bristol Great Orphan Book Entry no. 32. ref. 04421(1) : See below, chapter four.

188. Mein (1986). p. 43.

189. Ibid. p. 71.

190. Ibid.

191. Courtney (1994). pp. 98 – 9.

192. Ibid. p. 99. The marketing foci at Cardiff and Newport both developed on broad streets, for example.

193. Mein (1986). p. 73.

194. Ibid. p. 43.

195. Knight (1977). loc. cit. ; idem (1986) Chepstow Castle. Passim.

196. William Marshal died in 1219 and was succeeded by William (d. 1231), Richard (d. 1234), Gilbert (d. 1241), Walter (d. 1245) and Anselm (d. 1245).

197. Jones, T. (ed.) (1955) Brut y Tywysogyon : Red Book of Hergest Version. pp. 216 – 7.

198. Calendar of Patent Rolls. Vol. II. p. 427.

199. Lloyd, J.E. (1939) A History of Wales. Vol. II. p. 674.

200. Ibid.

201. Jones, T. (ed.) (1952) Brut y Tywysogyon : Peniarth MS. 20. p. 102.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE CLARE FAMILY AND THEIR RISE TO PROMINENCE

The Clare family were amongst the greatest baronial houses in England during the central middle ages, with a landed interest which went far beyond their Welsh lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon, and Usk.[1] While the prime concern of this work is, of course, to investigate the family's role in the development of the urban centres which existed within these lordships, it is important to realise that the Clare's actions and attitudes were not the product of isolation. Rather, they were shaped and influenced by their wider considerations. Consequently, in order to understand the motives which lay behind subsequent urban developments in their Marcher lordships, a brief consideration of the family's evolution and wider role is necessary.

ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

The Clares like so many of the other great Norman families, were related to the ducal house of Normandy.[2] The origins of the family have been traced to Godfrey, count of Brionne and Eu, who was the illegitimate son of Duke Richard I.[3] Godfrey was succeeded by his son, Gilbert, who emerged as an important figure under Duke Robert I, but was assassinated in 1040.[4] The death of Gilbert forced his sons, Richard and Baldwin, to flee to Flanders and it was not until Duke Robert was succeeded by his son, William, that the brothers returned from exile.[5] Their ancestral lands had been lost, but Duke William granted Bienfaite and Orbec to Richard, and Le Sap and Meules to Baldwin as compensation.[6] Richard and Baldwin accompanied the duke in the conquest of England, probably motivated by the prospect of gaining new lands in England to compensate further for the loss of Eu and Brionne.[7] Indeed, both brothers seem to have been rewarded for their part in the adventure. Baldwin became sheriff of Devon and lord of Okehampton, and received various other estates in Devon, Dorset and Somerset.[8] The substantial Clare presence in Devon and the west of England was maintained by Baldwin's sons, Richard and William, who successively became sheriffs of Devon.[9] Powerful as Baldwin was, however, it was his brother Richard who was responsible for laying the foundations for future greatness. In the territorial settlement which followed the conquest, Richard was granted the honour of Clare, which centred on an important Anglo-Saxon stronghold and extended into many of the southern and eastern counties of England. Richard married Rohese Giffard, daughter of the elder Walter Giffard, and her dowry of lands in Hertford and Huntingdon was absorbed into his burgeoning English possessions.[10] Extensive as the honour of Clare was, Richard extended his landed interest even further when he was granted the honour of Tonbridge as a fief of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[11] The reasons behind Richard's acquisition of Tonbridge are unclear, but the possibility exists that it was further compensation for relinquishing his claim to Brionne.[12]

Richard Fitz Gilbert established the foundations of the Clare family's landed wealth upon the twin planks of royal favour and advantageous marriage. A powerful figure in post-conquest England Richard was regarded as a trusted and loyal servant by the king. This was borne out by the king's

decision to appoint him as joint regent, along with Archbishop Lanfranc, when he left the country in 1075.[13] Indeed, it was this period of royal service and resulting royal favour which was responsible for Richard being rewarded with the honour of Clare. The fruits of royal favour, combined with an astute marriage, allowed Richard to establish the Clare family in the upper echelons of Anglo-Norman baronial society.

Richard died in 1090 and his lands were divided between his sons, Roger and Gilbert. His eldest son, Roger, inherited Orbec and Bienfaite in Normandy, while Gilbert was granted control of the newly won English inheritance.[14] Unlike the favourable relationship which had existed between Richard and William I, however, Gilbert was never on good terms with the new king, William Rufus. This was demonstrated by Gilbert's decision to side against the king during the failed rebellion of Robert de Mowbray in 1095, although he seems to have reconsidered his position later when he begged Rufus for a pardon and warned him of a plan to ambush him as he marched north with his army.[15] It is Gilbert Fitz Richard's knowledge of this plot which has caused some speculation suggesting that he was involved to some extent in the hunting 'accident' which killed Rufus in 1100. Both Gilbert and his brother Roger were present in the New Forest that day, while the man who fired the arrow was Walter Tirel, their brother-in-law.[16] While no evidence survives to implicate the brothers in any deliberate plot to kill the king, Rufus' successor, Henry I, held both Gilbert and Roger in very high regard, suggesting that he felt indebted to them in some way.[17]

The return of the family to royal favour saw the wealth and position of the Clares increase rapidly during the first half of the twelfth century. According to the 'Brut y Tywysogyon', Gilbert had often shown a desire to obtain lands in the March of Wales, the King reportedly saying

> "Thou wert always asking of me a portion of Wales. Now I will give thee the land of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn. Go and take possession of it." [18]

The lands of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn constituted the lordship of Ceredigion in west Wales and Gilbert immediately began the process of subjugating the area. Thus, Gilbert initiated the Clare involvement in the March of Wales which would continue, to a greater or lesser degree, for the following two hundred years.

The royal favour demonstrated by Henry I did not benefit Gilbert alone; it extended throughout his family. Among those to benefit were his younger brothers, Richard, Robert and Walter. Richard was appointed Abbot of Ely in 1100, a clerical career being a favoured option amongst the younger sons of the great Anglo-Norman families.[19] Robert, meanwhile, gained a landed interest in his own right when he was granted the forfeited manors of Ralph Baynard in East Anglia.[20] Of the three brothers, however, the greatest beneficiary of royal favour during the reign of Henry I was undoubtedly Walter, who was granted the great Marcher lordship of Netherwent, with the formidable castle at Striguil (Chepstow).[21]

Gilbert fitz Richard died in 1117 and the honours of Clare and Tonbridge, together with the Marcher lordship of Ceredigion, passed to his eldest son, Richard. Richard married Adeliz, sister of Ranulph, earl of Chester, and added her dowry of lands in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire to the existing Clare estates.[22] However, while these new lands further enriched the English inheritance, Richard fitz Gilbert's attention would seem to have been focussed upon his Marcher lands. Indeed, his initial attempts to consolidate his father's advances in Ceredigion seem to have been successful.

The reign of Henry I witnessed major Anglo-Norman advances in Wales. In the north, the district east of the River Clwyd came under direct Norman rule, while Powys was reduced to a vulnerable and enfeebled client state. In the south, the coastal lowlands were securely under Norman control while complete domination of the upland regions seemed only a matter of time.[23] Even Gwynedd itself had had to learn to live cautiously under powerful Norman overlordship.[24] The role of the king in these developments cannot be underestimated. The failure of Norman families, like the Montgomeries, allowed him to take large tracts of the March under his control. These permanent royal lordships could then be supplemented by the temporary custody of lordships when the heir was a minor. Henry I also exercised indirect control over much of the rest of the March through his choice and control of men. He employed his trusted clerics to manage the royal lordships, and promoted his own favourite families like the Clares themselves.[25] Consequently, the death of Henry in 1135 inaugurated a new era in the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales. Welsh revolts erupted across the country, particularly in the southern lordships of Gower, Kidwelly, Gwent, Brecon and Ceredigion.[26] The Norman invaders were overwhelmed by a series of disasters, and one of the most dramatic struck at the heart of the Clare family. In April 1136, Richard fitz Gilbert was returning to Ceredigion from England when he was ambushed and killed in the Usk valley by Morgan and Iorwerth ab Owain, the native lords of Caerleon.[27] With Richard dead, the Welsh launched three massive raids in Ceredigion and succeeded in recovering virtually all the lordship.[28]

THE EMERGENCE TO PROMINENCE OF THE CADET BRANCH

Following the death of Richard, the fortunes of the senior branch of the family became somewhat eclipsed by the cadet line under his brother, Gilbert Fitz Gilbert, who also emerged as a favourite of Henry I. Once more, royal favour was translated into land; when Roger Fitz Richard died in 1130, the king granted Gilbert his uncle's lands of Orbec and Bienfaite. After the death of Henry I in 1135, Gilbert retained royal favour by serving the beleaguered Stephen during the civil wars which plagued his reign. His loyalty was rewarded, and he was granted the lordship of Pembroke which had been in royal hands since 1102.[29] Gilbert's acquisition of Pembroke was quickly followed by the lordship of Netherwent, which Stephen granted to him upon the death of his uncle Walter in 1138.[30] As with his brother Roger, Walter had died without children and on both occasions Gilbert was the beneficiary.

The acquisition of Orbec, Bienfaite, Pembroke and Netherwent immediately placed Gilbert amongst the greatest barons of the realm. Indeed, at some time around 1138, he was created earl of Pembroke by King Stephen, although he generally styled himself 'earl of Striguil' instead.[31] Upon his

death in 1148, Gilbert was succeeded by his son, Richard, who is better known as 'Strongbow', although it would seem that it was actually Gilbert who was first known by that name.[32] Although Richard Strongbow had inherited an extensive patrimony and powerful position from his father, his fortunes were nevertheless threatened. A resurgent native Welsh population had recovered much of its strength, providing an effective barrier to further Anglo-Norman expansion and even threatening existing Anglo-Norman lordships such as Pembroke.[33] It appeared that the days of easy pickings and quick returns in Wales were over.[34]

However, while prospects in Wales appeared bleak, a new possibility for advancement arose in 1166 when Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, arrived at Bristol to seek aid to recover his kingdom from Ruaidri Ua Conchobair, the High King of Ireland.[35] Henry II, who had succeeded Stephen in 1154, considered himself unable to act immediately to help Diarmait, but he issued letters patent empowering his barons to assist.[36] Richard Fitz Gilbert saw this as an opportunity to obtain new lands in Ireland, and he agreed to support Diarmait in return for his daughter's hand in marriage, together with recognition as Diarmait's heir.[37] A full discussion of the subsequent invasion of Ireland is beyond the scope of this study, but by 1171, when Mac Murchada died, most of Leinster had been recovered and Strongbow inherited his kingdom.[38] This placed Strongbow in a very delicate situation, however, as Henry II had grown alarmed at the power Strongbow had obtained, particularly as the king had ambitions of his own in Ireland.[39] Threatened with forfeiture and perpetual banishment, Strongbow was pragmatic enough to reach a compromise with the king, who arrived in Ireland with a large army on 17 October 1171. Dublin, Wexford and Waterford were all ceded to the king, but Henry enfeoffed Strongbow with the remainder of the old kingdom of Leinster.[40]

The acquisition and consolidation of the lordship of Leinster formed Strongbow's prime concern during the 1170 s, but he did not neglect his other interests. As was seen in the previous chapter, as lord of Netherwent he had a claim to the lands of the Usk basin which had been captured by Morgan and Iorwerth ab Owain during the 1130 s.[41] In 1174, the castle at Usk was taken from the Welsh and the lordship of Usk recaptured. Strongbow clearly intended this reconquest to be permanent; to reinforce Anglo-Norman control he founded a priory and town immediately to the south of Usk castle.[42] Richard Strongbow died early in 1176, by which time the cadet branch of the Clare family had quite clearly established itself amongst the most powerful baronial families in the realm, developing a vast territorial endowment. Richard died leaving an infant son, Gilbert, as his heir and consequently the entire inheritance passed into royal custody.[43] Gilbert himself died in 1185 at the age of twelve and thus never inherited his father's lands. The death of Strongbow's only son meant that the entire inheritance passed to his daughter, Isabel, and her husband William Marshal.[44]

THE INHERITANCE OF THE EARLDOMS OF HERTFORD AND GLOUCESTER

Although overshadowed by the cadet branch, the senior branch of the Clare family had continued to prosper during the twelfth century. After his death in the Usk valley in 1136, Richard de Clare was succeeded by his son Gilbert. Gilbert appears to have enjoyed the favour of King Stephen, who created him earl of Hertford in c.1138.[45] Gilbert's loyalty to the king was short-lived, however, as he sided with Matilda during the civil wars.[46] On his death in 1152, Gilbert was apparently unmarried

and the great Clare inheritance passed to Roger, his younger brother.[47] Roger attempted to re-establish the senior branch in the Marches by trying to recapture his father's lordship of Ceredigion from the Welsh. His attempts came to nothing, however, as his forces were defeated by the Welsh in 1165 and he had to abandon his efforts.[48] Despite this failure in Wales, Roger added further lands to the Clare inheritance when he married Maud, daughter and heiress of the Norfolk baron, James de St. Hilary.[49]

On the death of Roger in 1173, the inheritance, together with the title 'earl of Hertford', passed to his eldest son, Richard. The career of Richard fitz Roger de Clare would ultimately prove to be a defining period in the family's history, for it was during his lifetime that the Clares developed into perhaps the most powerful and wealthy baronial family in the realm. In 1189, Richard inherited half of the former honour of Giffard, comprising lands in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire.[50] This substantial inheritance demonstrates the latent benefits that could result from distant marriages. Richard fitz Gilbert had married Rohese Giffard one hundred years earlier; it was because of that marriage that the Clares now inherited a portion of the Giffard honour.[51] It was, however, Richard fitz Roger's own marriage which transformed the fortunes of the senior branch of the Clare family. Richard married Amicia, the second daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, who held vast lands in western England together with the Marcher lordships of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. Upon the marriage of his youngest daughter Isabel to John, youngest son of Henry II, however, Earl William made Isabel his sole heiress.[52] Consequently, when William died in 1185 his entire inheritance passed to John, who retained control even after his divorce from Isabel in 1199.

In 1200, King John granted the title earl of Gloucester to Amaury, the son of Earl William's eldest daughter, Mabel. Amaury was granted four demesne manors and the normal comital privilege of the third penny of the pleas of the shire, but John kept control of the bulk of the Gloucester inheritance.[53] Richard de Clare, as husband of Amicia, received some lands and ten knights fees in Kent, but John's refusal to surrender any more saw Richard consistently oppose John during his reign.[54] Amaury died without issue in 1213 and consequently, when Isabel remarried, the title and honour of Gloucester passed to her new husband Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex. King John, however, imposed a fine of 10,000 marks and retained control of the valuable town of Bristol. Geoffrey died in February 1216, by which time he had paid some two-thirds of the fine.[55] Control of the inheritance returned briefly to the crown but soon passed once more to Isabel and her third husband, Hubert de Burgh. In turn, however, de Burgh's tenure as earl of Gloucester proved brief for on 14 October 1217, the Countess Isabel herself died.[56]

Upon the death of Isabel, the great Gloucester inheritance passed to Amicia and Richard de Clare, in spite of the fact that the couple had been separated since 1200.[57] In one final twist in this complicated inheritance, however, Richard himself died on 28 November 1217, and never obtained formal seisin of his lands. Consequently, it was Richard's son Gilbert who formally incorporated the honour of Gloucester into the Clare inheritance when he obtained livery and seisin of his great patrimony shortly after his father's death.[58] 1217, therefore, was the turning point in the history of the senior branch of the Clare family. Previously, the family's landed interest had largely been restricted to eastern and south-eastern England. With the addition of the honour of Gloucester to those existing

estates, the family's landed wealth was more than doubled and its influence extended across the whole of southern England.[59] In terms of knights fees, the honour of Gloucester added a further two hundred and sixty to the Clares' existing figure of one hundred and ninety-six. The new total of four hundred and fifty-six was far greater than that held by any other magnate of the day.[60]

AS LORDS OF GLAMORGAN AND GWYNLLŴG

The inheritance of the honour of Gloucester played another important role in the development of the Clare family, a role which was to shape Clare policy and interests throughout the thirteenth century. In addition to the vast Gloucester estates in England, the Clares inherited Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg and thus re-established themselves as Marcher lords on a grand scale. In the context of this study, this was obviously an event of great importance. The particular focus of this work, the urban centres, only represented a small part of this Marcher inheritance. Nevertheless, if we are to understand the Clares attitudes towards these urban centres, we must also recognise the family's wider attitude to their newly inherited Marcher lands.

During the twelfth century, the Anglo-Normans under Fitz Hamo, Robert, earl of Gloucester, and William, earl of Gloucester had only managed to exert direct control over the fertile lowlands of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, known to the native Welsh as 'Bro Morgannwg' (see figure six). In the mountainous uplands, 'Blaenau Morgannwg', the failure of the Anglo-Normans to exert any direct control meant that the area was still dominated by a semi-independent native aristocracy.[61] For as long as this independence was maintained, the uplands offered a threat to Gilbert's control over Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. Further to the north, Gwynedd still posed a very real threat to Anglo-Norman interests in Wales and offered a natural ally to the native Welsh of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg. Such an alliance would not only be disastrous for the Clares, but would threaten the stability of the whole southern March, for Glamorgan was the keystone of English power in south Wales.[62] Consequently, the dominant aspect of the first half-century of Clare lordship was to establish effective military and political control of these upland areas.[63] The native lordships which confronted earl Gilbert represented dynasties long established in Glamorgan. Between the rivers Taff and Rhymney lay perhaps the most powerful, the lordship of Senghenydd, ruled by Rhys ap Gruffydd, grandson of Ifor Bach.[64] Meanwhile, to the west, in the broad uplands between the rivers Taff and Neath, lay three further lordships which, like Senghenydd, were based on the pre-conquest cantrefi of Morgannwg. The men who controlled these lordships were in fact cousins; Morgan Gam of Afan, Morgan ap Cadwallon of Glynrhondda, and Hywel ap Maredudd of Meisgyn (see figure seven). All three were descended from Iestyn ap Gwrgant, the king of Morgannwg ousted by Fitz Hamo.[65]

Hostilities initially erupted between Gilbert and Morgan Gam, lord of Afan. Morgan's father, Morgan ap Caradog, exercised some form of overlordship over his brothers, Cadwallon of Glynrhondda and Maredudd of Meisgyn during the twelfth century, and Morgan Gam sought to emulate his father's expansionism.[66] Thus, Morgan Gam represented the chief threat to Gilbert, for not only did he assert his independence from Gilbert, but he also challenged the earl's position as overlord

of Glamorgan by attempting to extend his own hegemony to include the neighbouring Welsh lords.[67] Morgan Gam's intention to emulate his father was quickly made evident. In 1224, a series of attacks was launched against the Cistercian abbey of Margam and its demesne lands, which had formed part of Morgan's father's patrimony but which had been separated from his inheritance.[68] Morgan Gam then reinforced his claim to Margam by issuing a charter in which he claimed the right to cognizance of all disputes involving the abbey, without mentioning any rights of appeal to the superior jurisdiction of the earl.[69] It was a bold claim and to Gilbert it was an intolerable challenge to his feudal authority. During 1228 he responded by asserting his strength; he captured Morgan and imprisoned him at one of his English castles, possibly Clare.[70] If Gilbert imagined that this would remove the native threat to his hold on Glamorgan, however, he was mistaken. No sooner had Morgan Gam been imprisoned than his policies were continued by his cousin. Hywel ap Maredudd of Meisgyn. Hywel immediately made his intentions clear by capturing and mutilating Morgan ap Cadwallon and annexing his lordship of Glynrhondda.[71] Indeed, it would appear likely that Hywel also assumed control of Afan, and he demonstrated his new power by attacking the Norman fees of St. Nicholas and St. Hilary, as well as Gilbert's stronghold of Kenfig.[72] The attack upon Kenfig in 1228 was particularly savage, with the town being burnt.[73]

The situation worsened further in 1230, for while on a diplomatic mission in Brittany, Gilbert died on 25 October.[74] The heir was his eight year old son, Richard, and consequently the Clare inheritance was taken into royal hands for the duration of Richard's minority. Gilbert's active policy to subjugate the native commotal lords was continued by the royal keepers of Glamorgan, however, motivated in no small part by the ever growing threat posed by Gwynedd under Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr). Despite Henry III's reminder to the commotal lords that they owed him their fealty and allegiance, they allied themselves firmly with Llywelyn.[75] In 1231, Llywelyn together with Morgan Gam, who had secured his own release in 1229, invaded Glamorgan and destroyed the borough and castle at Neath. A year later a similar fate befell Kenfig.[76] When Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke and lord of Netherwent, emerged as leader of baronial opposition to the king, he saw the native lords of Glamorgan as potential allies. In1233 Marshal reached some form of accommodation with Llywelyn and offered Morgan Gam, Hywel ap Maredudd and Rhys ap Gruffydd Clare land in Glamorgan in return for their support.[77]

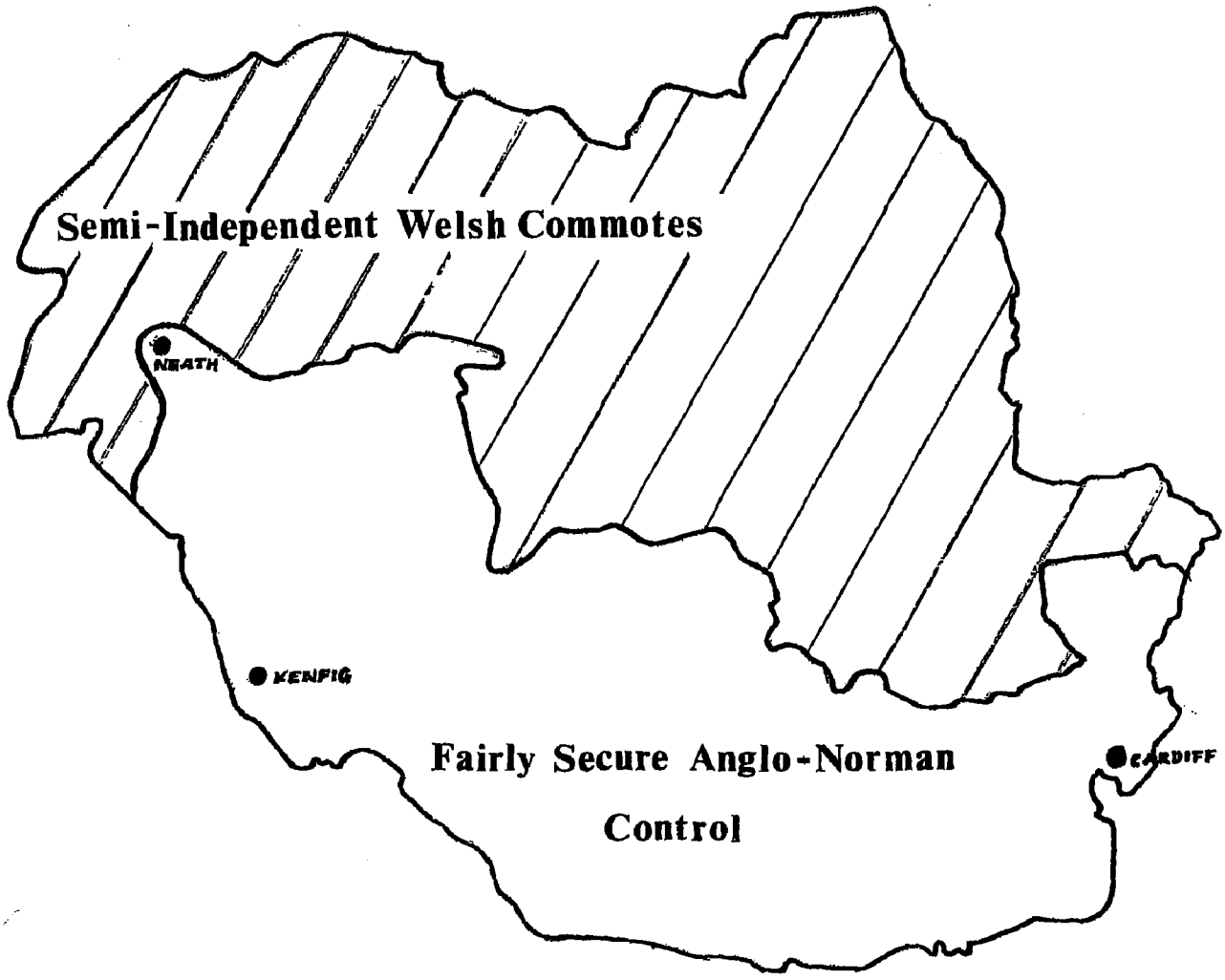


FIGURE SIX; GLAMORGAN C.1217

The ensuing campaign was swift and devastating with Marshal attacking Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, capturing Newport and even Cardiff itself. As Michael Altschul argues, it was Marshal and not Peter de Rivaux, the royal custodian, who was the effective ruler of Glamorgan.[78] The offensive was not sustained, however, as in 1234 Richard Marshal died. He was succeeded by his brother, Gilbert, who along with Llywelyn reached an agreement with the king.[79] Llywelyn ordered the native lords of Glamorgan to surrender all the Clare lands which they had seized, as a condition of the peace agreement, and an air of stability returned to Glamorgan.[80] Custody of Glamorgan passed to Richard Siward, lord of Llanbleddian, on 3 July 1234, and he retained custody until February 1235 when it passed to Gilbert Marshal.[81] In 1240, royal control of Glamorgan was reinforced by the death of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth which deprived the commotal lords of their most powerful ally. Llywelyn's sons, Dafydd and Gruffydd, were unable to replicate the strength and success of their father and thus the power of the house of Gwynedd was temporarily weakened.[82] The internal pressure upon royal control in Glamorgan was further eased in 1241 when Morgan Gam died. The lordship of Afan passed to his eldest son, Lleision, but unlike his father he appears to have considered further struggle futile. Consequently, Afan never again threatened Clare rule, and opposition shifted to the remaining three commotal lordships.[83]

The situation within the lordship of Glamorgan which Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare inherited upon gaining seisin of his estates in September 1243 was thus rather different from that faced by his father. The decline of Afan allowed Hywel ap Maredudd of Meisgyn to emerge as the principal figure of resistance. This was aptly demonstrated by the fact that when Richard inherited Glamorgan, Hywel and Rhys ap Gruffydd of Senghenydd were waging war against one of earl Richard's sub-tenants, Gilbert de Turberville, lord of Coity (see figure seven). In itself, this show of strength by Hywel illustrated a further feature of the political situation in thirteenth century Glamorgan. The struggle between the Welsh and Anglo-Normans was not limited to the native lords and the earl himself. Much of the lowlands had been subinfeudated into a number of sub-lordships, and it was often these sub-lords who embroiled themselves in warfare with the native Welsh (see figure seven).

Earl Richard acted quickly to quell this conflict, which he saw as being an internal matter between his tenants, and a truce was arranged between the parties.[84] Shortly afterwards, however, the truce was broken by Richard Siward, lord of Llanbleddian, Talyfan and Ruthin (see figure seven), when he seized a strategic tract of land between the earl's demesne and Hywel's lordships of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda. Earl Richard could clearly not tolerate such a challenge to his feudal authority from one of his own tenants, and summoned Siward to Cardiff.[85] However, while a new truce was being arranged, Hywel ap Maredudd and Siward resolved their differences and joined forces against the earl, attacking Kenfig castle and burning the town yet again.[86] Although the situation was undeniably serious for Earl Richard, it also presented him with the opportunity to rid himself of two troublesome vassals. Hywel was quickly defeated and his lordships of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda were seized and added to the earl's demesne.[87] Siward, meanwhile, was charged with felonious breach of the peace and was forced to surrender his lordships. When he failed to appear at three subsequent meetings at the curia comitatus at Cardiff, Siward was formally outlawed and his estates declared forfeit.[88]

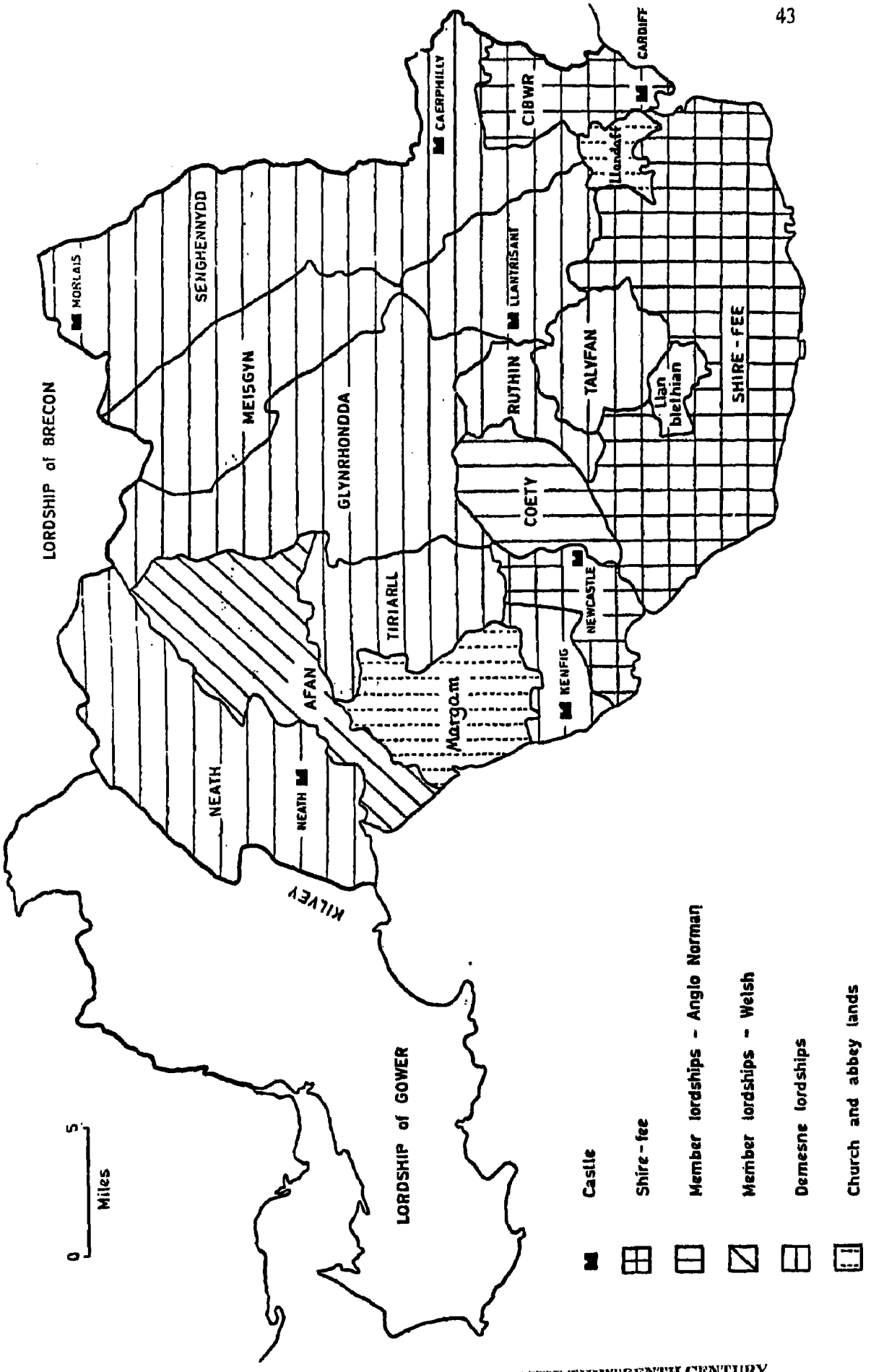


FIGURE SEVEN: SUBINFEUDATION IN GLAMORGAN DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (AFTER WILLIAM REES).

Siward applied to the royal court, complaining of irregularities in the proceedings against him. Earl Richard maintained that as the trouble occurred within Glamorgan, he alone had full cognizance of the matter by virtue of his Marcher regality.[89] In doing so, Earl Richard sought not only the right to complete cognizance and authority over all pleas within the lordship, but also the crown's recognition that the laws and customs of Glamorgan were independent of English common law.[90] Although the final ruling has not survived, Earl Richard was apparently successful.[91] Richard had, therefore, ruthlessly removed two sources of opposition to his lordship in Glamorgan.[92] In asserting his military and political control, Richard also added considerably to his existing demesne lands. This extension of the earl's landed interest was particularly important in the context of this study, as it initiated a period of notable urban development at Cowbridge and Llantrisant.[93]

THE INHERITANCE OF THE LORDSHIPS OF USK AND KILKENNY

The short-term peace in Glamorgan which followed Earl Richard's successful dispossession of Hywel ap Maredudd and Richard Siward allowed him to widen his horizons from mere consolidation in the Marches to fully fledged expansion and, once again the Clare family were to reap the benefits of favourable marriage. Earl Richard's major territorial expansion of the period resulted from the extinction of the Marshal family in 1245. When the youngest son of William Marshal, Anselm, died without heir the great Marshal inheritance, including the Marcher lordships of Pembroke and Netherwent, was partitioned amongst the heirs of William Marshal's five daughters.[94] As was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the beneficiaries was Richard de Clare, whose mother was Marshal's second daughter, Isabel. Richard's share was substantial, for not only did he receive the lordship of Usk, but he also inherited Kilkenny in Ireland as a consequence of the partition of the Marshal's Irish lordship of Leinster.[95] Welcome as this interest in Ireland undoubtedly was, it was the acquisition of Usk which was most important to Richard. The Marshal's had been the Clares' greatest rivals in the March, and their extinction combined with the acquisition of the lordship of Usk, including the important borough of Usk, left Richard de Clare as the most powerful of all the Marcher lords.[96]

The extension of the Clares' landed endowment into Usk under Richard fitz Gilbert was accompanied by a process of administrative and commercial reorganisation in Glamorgan, something which will be considered fully in subsequent chapters. With the removal of the native Welsh threat in Meisgyn and Glynrhondda, moves were made to secure the area permanently. Richard constructed a new castle at Llantrisant (see figure seven) to serve as the new administrative centre for these native upland lordships, perhaps as early as 1246.[97] By the time of Richard's death in 1262, a borough appears to have been established alongside the castle.[98] At much the same time, a further borough was implanted by the earl at Cowbridge, in the heart of Richard Siward's confiscated lordship of Llanbleddian.[99]

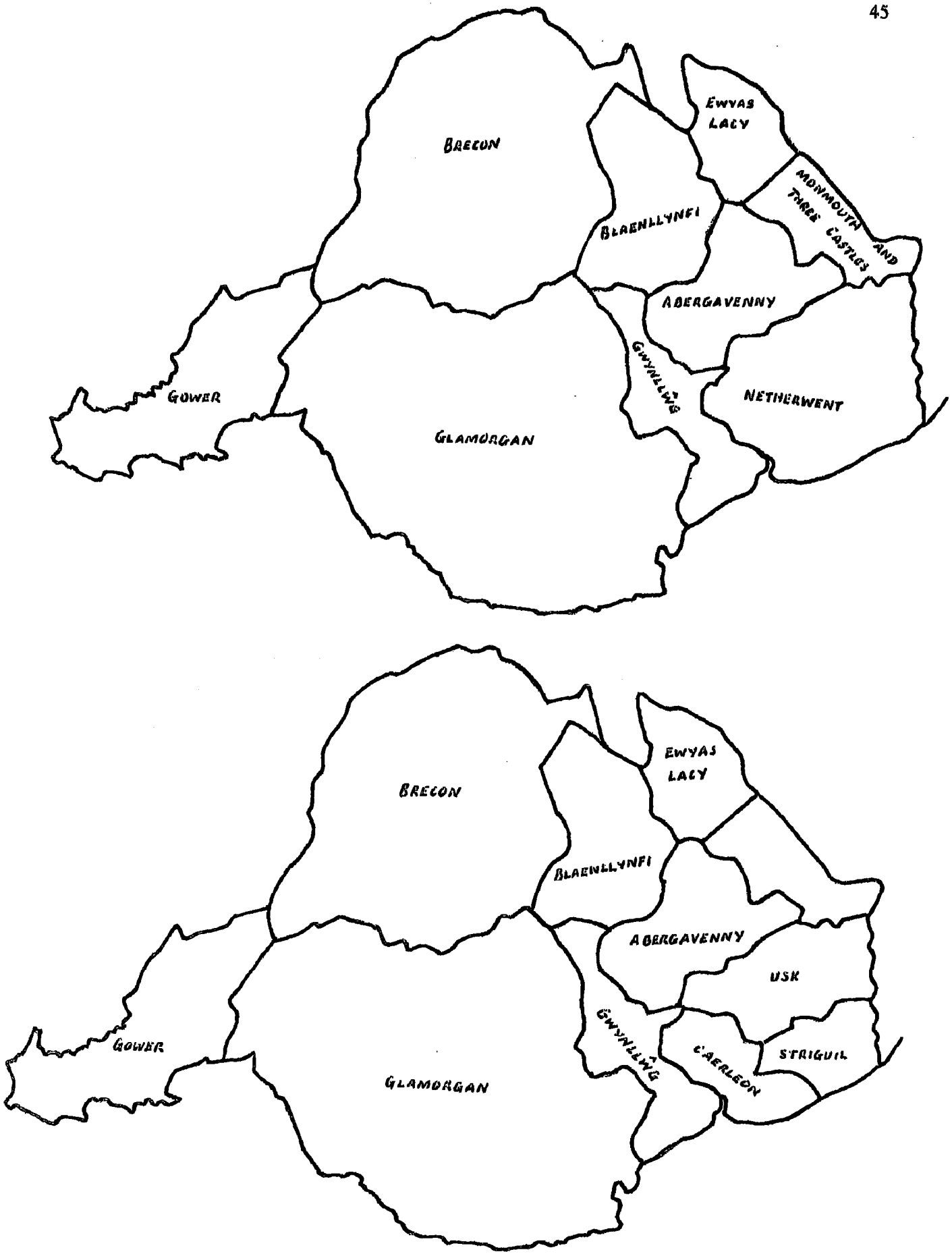


FIGURE EIGHT: S. E. WALES AND THE EFFECT OF THE MARSHAL PARTITION

Despite the incorporation of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda into his demesne, the remaining native lordships of Senghenydd and Machen, in Gwynllŵg, still represented a stumbling block to Richard's desire to fully integrate the uplands into his lordship. By the central years of the 1250 s the situation had worsened considerably, and what had been a latent threat on the part of Senghenydd and Machen suddenly became very real indeed. Once again, the catalyst for unrest proved to be the house of Gwynedd, as between 1246 and 1255 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, eliminated all his rivals to revitalise the strength of the Gwynedd dynasty.[100] Glamorgan felt the force of Gwynedd's new found strength as early as 1257, when Llywelyn attacked Richard's demesne lordship of Tir Iarll, destroying the castle at Llangynwyd.[101] This force appears to have been drawn from Gwynedd and Deheubarth, rather than the native Welsh of Glamorgan. However, in the native lordship of Senghenydd Rhys ap Gruffydd had died in 1256. He was succeeded by his son, Gruffydd, who immediately allied himself with Llywelyn; once more the possibility of a Welsh invasion of Glamorgan via the uplands became a distinct threat.[102] This was fully demonstrated in 1258 when Llywelyn, with a force reputed to have comprised 800 horsemen and 7,000 footmen, raided Glamorgan and destroyed much of the borough of Neath.[103]

EARL RICHARD FITZ GILBERT AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT

At the same time that the resurgence of Gwynedd threatened his programme of consolidation in Glamorgan, Earl Richard was faced with a further consideration. Baronial opposition to the rule of Henry III had been growing throughout his reign, but during 1258 the festering resentment of the king's actions was crystallised into a plan for reform. Amongst the leaders of this reforming group emerged Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and Richard de Clare himself.[104] The emergence of Richard de Clare in the vanguard of the baronial reform movement was highly significant. For all their landed wealth and connections, the Clares had never adopted a particularly high profile in national politics.[105] Yet by involving himself in this new manifestation of baronial opposition, Richard thrust himself and his family to the forefront of the political scene. Unlike de Montfort, however, Richard was not motivated by any great personal enmity towards the king. Rather, it would seem, his behaviour was motivated by Henry's inability to check the resurgence of Gwynedd under Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.[106]

Richard's commitment to the pursual of the reforms laid out in the Provisions of Oxford did not match the zeal shown by de Montfort. The earl of Leicester was dedicated to a thorough reorganisation of government which would give greater political influence and representation to the middle strata of society, the lesser freeholders, burgesses and mesne tenants.[107] To conservative barons, such as Richard de Clare, de Montfort's reforms looked increasingly like a threat to their own interests.[108] By the end of 1259, Richard abandoned de Montfort and made his peace with the king, soon to be joined by other dissatisfied barons.[109] De Montfort's continued willingness to advance the complaints of the lesser landowners had certainly played a part in Richard's decision, but the fact that Llywelyn had not shown much inclination to attack Glamorgan since 1258 would also have lessened Richard's opposition to the king's actions in Wales.[110] The Marcher lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Usk

had become the centre of Richard's attention, and it was to safeguard these important lands that he had, after all, become involved in the reform movement.[111] Richard's tenure as earl of Gloucester represented something of a watershed in the attitudes of the Clare family. Despite the vast size and great wealth of their English estates, it was their Marcher lordships which would become the focus of their attention for the remainder of the thirteenth century.

Henry III quickly succeeded in alienating the baronial leaders who had returned to his side, however, and Richard reconciled his differences with de Montfort and they were soon joined by other leading figures such as Roger Bigod.[112] Henry had refused to abide by the Provisions of Oxford, despite pressure from the barons to do so, and he began recruiting large numbers of soldiers from France, and it seemed that he was preparing for open war against his enemies.[113] Once again, however, the majority of the barons were unwilling to join de Montfort in waging war against the king. Instead they entered into arbitration, and on 2 May 1262 the Provisions of Oxford were formally annulled.[114] Richard de Clare played little part in the arbitration process, however, as he had become seriously ill early in 1262. On 15 July he died, and two weeks later he was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey.[115] His death posed serious problems for both the king and the Clare lordships in the southern March. The threat posed by de Montfort had not been completely extinguished, while in Richard the king had lost the most powerful of all the barons who had consistently kept Simon de Montfort's wider ambitions in check. At the same time, the death of Richard might have finally enticed Llywelyn ap Gruffydd into attacking Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Usk.

EARL GILBERT FITZ RICHARD, THE 'RED EARL'

Richard's heir Gilbert, was a youth of eighteen who fully expected to be granted seisin of his inheritance.[116] Henry, however, considered the political situation to be too delicate and continued to exercise his rights of wardship, appointing the earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, as keeper of the Clares' Marcher lands.[117] During 1263, however, Henry assigned a portion of the inheritance to Richard's widow, Maud, as dower. The king was entitled to grant Maud a dower, but by assigning her the castle, manor and honour of Clare, the caput of the entire inheritance, Henry violated accepted feudal law and custom. As a part of the dowry, Maud also received a number of possessions in the lordship of Usk, including the castles of Usk and Trelech.[118] Henry's actions were a miscalculation, however, as they provoked Gilbert's anger and drove him towards the anti-royalist movement.[119] Following Earl Richard's death, support had grown for the Montfortian reform movement, particularly following renewed advances in the March by Llywelyn which the king had failed to check.[120] The fears and resentment of the Marcher lords spilled over into general opposition to the king in England. The new baronial confederation was again led by de Montfort, with powerful support from men such as John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, and Gilbert de Clare.[121] Their demand that the Provisions of Oxford should be renewed was rejected by the king, however, and armed conflict seemed inevitable. De Montfort made an alliance with Llywelyn and then led the baronial forces into the field, sweeping all royal forces before him and presenting the king with little option other than to recognise the Provisions once more.[122]

While de Montfort enjoyed the support of some great barons, many more, such as the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, remained loyal to the king. Consequently, Simon relied upon the volatile Marcher lords for much of his support. Simon's alliance with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd was particularly troublesome for them, and many began to question whether a regime headed by Simon would be in their interests. Indeed, by October 1263, only six months after the confederation had been formed, half of de Montfort's supporters had deserted the baronial cause.[123] One of the deserters was Gilbert de Clare himself, who had been granted seisin of his estates in August 1263.[124] When de Montfort, as leader of the baronial administration, refused to return Usk and Trelech castles to Gilbert, perhaps on the insistence of Llywelyn, Gilbert began to doubt de Montfort's motives and he reconciled himself to the royal party.[125] His defection was temporary, however, for by April 1264 he had rejoined the Montfortian side. Simon rallied his supporters for a fresh campaign and with Gilbert he led his army to a crushing victory at the battle of Lewes.[126] De Montfort's superiority was short lived, however, and once again the Clares played a central role. While Gilbert appears to have more readily identified with Simon's ideals than had his father, he became increasingly dissatisfied with Simon's autocratic rule.[127] Gilbert defected yet again to the royalist side, and his decision swung the balance of power back to the king and dealt a fatal blow to de Montfort's fortunes. On 3 August 1265, the decisive battle of the Baron's War was fought at Evesham where, under Gilbert, Roger Mortimer and the Lord Edward, the royal forces annihilated de Montfort's army. Simon, his son Henry and the justiciar, Hugh le Despenser, were slain and the Montfortian experiment was finally at an end.[128]

In the aftermath of victory, during the Spring of 1266, Gilbert brought suit against his mother for the castles of Usk and Trelech. While the suit was being settled, the lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Usk were taken into royal custody. Finally, on 25 January 1267, the castles were returned to Gilbert. Maud retained her other possessions in the lordship of Usk, however, which comprised the manors of Trelech, Troy, Cwmcarven and Usk together with the valuable borough of Usk.[129] She also retained control of the manor of Rhymney in Gwynllŵg.[130] That so much of his Welsh inheritance remained in his mother's hands angered Gilbert, and the king attempted to appease him by granting him permission to conquer the lands of Welsh supporters of de Montfort and Llywelyn.[131] Gilbert was not satisfied, however, and again entered into opposition to the king. He demanded that all the supporters of de Montfort who had been disinherited be restored to their estates. When Henry refused, Gilbert retired to Glamorgan and once again began to raise an army. He then proceeded to march on London and, on 8 April 1267, entered the city with the full support of the inhabitants. The disinherited barons rallied to his side and although the king began to prepare for war, a peaceful settlement was reached.[132] Gilbert withdrew and offered surety of 10,000 marks for his good behaviour, while the king offered the disinherited restoration to their land if they came to his peace.[133]

THE ACQUISITION OF CAERLEON AND THE CONQUEST OF SENGHENYDD

With the final settlement of the 'Disinherited Crisis', Gilbert was able to turn his attentions to his Marcher lordships and the problems which had beset his father and grandfather; namely, the threat of Gwynedd and the continued resistance of Senghenydd and Machen to his seigneurial authority. Indeed, as with his father before him, the Marcher lordships became Gilbert's prime concern for the rest of his life. Throughout the thirteenth century, the Clares' Marcher possessions had assumed an importance out of all proportion to their financial value, and were regarded by the Clare earls as potentially the most important of all their holdings. The reasons for this importance are not difficult to comprehend. From the native Welsh kings whom they displaced, the Marcher lords had inherited powers and privileges far beyond those enjoyed by the baronage who held lands in England alone.[134] For two centuries the Marchers had successfully defended and maintained these rights and privileges to such an extent that Gilbert could still regard his Welsh lands as virtual kingdoms in miniature rather than lordships in the traditional sense. This much is reflected in the correspondence of the day, even the letters of the kings of England themselves, which describe 'lords royal' enjoying 'royal lordship' 'with royal liberty' and exercising a 'regal jurisdiction'.[135]

The list of the liberties and jurisdiction which they enjoyed was both long and impressive. It began with the judicial omnicompetence of the Marcher lord's authority, something which represented the uniqueness of the Marcher position to English lawyers. In the March, as they put it, the king's writ did not run; in effect meaning that the king of England and his courts normally exercised no jurisdiction.[136] The lord, and not the king, was the judicial master of his lordship. It was his writ that ran in the lordship, not the king's and he alone had cognizance of all pleas in his lordship, with the exception of treason. As R. R. Davies identifies, the lord was master of his lordship with power of life and death, limbs and chattels. His courts knew little limit to their competence, while any judicial franchises within his lordship derived from him and were scrutinized by him.[137] The power enjoyed by a Marcher lord in judicial matters was matched by his territorial and seigniorial competence. All land, except church estates, was held mediately or immediately of him. He enjoyed those prerogatives usually enjoyed by the king: the right of primer seisin and prerogative warship of all lands held of him; the right to create boroughs, markets and fairs; the right to grant free warren and create forests; the right to wreck, treasure trove and mines; the right to royal fish; the right to impose tolls and exempt men from paying them. The Marcher lords were also normally exempt from the fiscal demands of the king.[138] Most remarkably, though, the Marcher lords claimed and exercised the right to settle their disputes with each other and the native princes and lords of Wales by their own treaties, and even by waging war if need be.[139] Above all, this right to wage private war was the most crucial, and most extraordinary, feature of Marcher franchise.

For the Clares, the lordships they held in the March were also important economically. Although their English estates were more valuable, they were scattered all over southern England. The Welsh lordships, by contrast, were much more compact and therefore the revenue could be collected more quickly and fully.[140] Consequently, it is not surprising that Earl Gilbert placed such emphasis upon his Welsh inheritance. It gave him a secure, powerful base from which he could operate free of

royal control. In situations such as the Baron's Wars and the crisis of the 'Disinherited', where Gilbert found himself in opposition to the king, such a base could be invaluable. It was this importance which drove Gilbert to complete the integration of the native upland lordships, for so long as they remained hostile Llywelyn ap Gruffydd could threaten Glamorgan. The focus of attention was Senghenydd whose lord, Gruffydd ap Rhys, had allied himself firmly with Llywelyn. Gilbert struck decisively, and before he marched on London in support of the 'Disinherited' he raided Senghenydd and captured Gruffydd, imprisoning him at Kilkenny castle in Ireland.[141]

Following the settlement of the 'Disinherited' crisis, Llywelyn was officially recognised as prince of Wales in the Treaty of Montgomery, concluded in September 1267. Under the terms of the treaty, Llywelyn claimed that Gruffydd was his vassal and lodged a protest over Gilbert's actions.[142] Gilbert retorted that he had authority for his actions in the form of the royal grant of 1266 which allowed him to conquer the lands of Llywelyn's supporters.[143] Henry promised that matters would be settled in the royal courts, but there is no further mention of the affair and nothing more is heard of Gruffydd ap Rhys.[144] Llywelyn held control of the northern half of Senghenydd (Uwch Caiach), however, and also exercised control over surviving members of the native dynasty of Meisgyn who still held some lands in the north of that commote. Consequently, in order to defend the southern half of Senghenydd (Is Caiach) and the northern approaches to Cardiff, Gilbert constructed a new castle at Caerphilly (see figure nine).[145] This broke the uneasy truce between Gilbert and Llywelyn and open warfare erupted until, in September 1268, a royal commission was established under the bishop of Exeter. Little progress was made in the subsequent eight-month lull in the fighting, however, and both sides simply used it as an opportunity to regroup their forces.[146] Indeed, in 1268 – 69 Gilbert further complicated the situation when he acquired the lordship of Caerleon (see figure ten). A component of the old Marshal lordship of Netherwent, it had passed to Sybil Marshal's daughters Agnes de Vesey and Maud de Kyme.[147] Caerleon lay between the existing lordships of Usk and Glamorgan - Gwynllŵg, and possession of it would create a solid bloc of Clare – controlled territory stretching from the River Wye in the east to the River Tawe in the west (see figure ten). During 1268 – 69 Gilbert exchanged some lands in England for Maud's share, while in a separate transaction he purchased Agnes' share outright.[148] In doing so he added yet another borough to the Clare's Welsh inheritance, the small caput of Caerleon. Possession of Caerleon completed the Clare's Marcher power bloc, but it also extended Gilbert's overlordship to include Maredudd ap Gruffydd, grandson of Morgan ap Hywel of Caerleon. Maredudd already held Machen in Gwynllŵg of Earl Gilbert; he also held the bedelries of Edelegan and Llefenydd in the lordship of Caerleon. However, Maredudd had allied himself with Llywelyn and thus, in the short term at least, Gilbert's acquisition of Caerleon served to strengthen the influence of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in his lands in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Montgomery.[149]

In October 1270, frustrated by a succession of unsuccessful royal commissions, Llywelyn resumed hostilities and on 13 October he seized and destroyed Caerphilly castle.[150] Gilbert reacted immediately, seizing Machen, Edelegan and Llefenydd from Maredudd ap Gruffydd and incorporating them into his demesne. He also regained control of Is-Caiach and began to rebuild Caerphilly.[151]

FIGURE NINE: THE LORDSHIP OF SENGHENYDD

Again the king sought a peaceful solution and a new series of commissions was set up, but again they had little effect. Llywelyn prepared to attack once more, but Gilbert pre-empted his strike by surrendering Caerphilly into royal hands. The structure was still incomplete, but Gilbert's actions may also have been motivated by a desire to appear as the aggrieved party.[152] Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, and Roger Longespee, bishop of Lichfield, were appointed keepers and both rival armies were ordered to withdraw.[153] Royal control of Caerphilly proved short lived, however, as by February 1272, Gilbert had regained possession by means of a simple ruse. The constable of Cardiff, with two knights, approached the castle supposedly to inspect the earl's stores of arms and provisions which remained there. Once they were given permission to enter, however, a force of some forty men emerged from hiding and overran the small royal garrison.[154] The king, by now an old man and with his son Edward away on crusade, felt unable to act decisively and tried to explain away Gilbert's actions in a letter to Llywelyn.[155] The king's reluctance to act against the earl may well have been influenced by the fact that Gilbert seems to have assumed an active role as counsellor to Henry.[156] The continued pressure exerted by Llywelyn upon Glamorgan had clearly made cordial relations with the king increasingly desirable for Gilbert. With Llywelyn continuing to remain on friendly terms with the king, despite the Caerphilly affair, the situation in Glamorgan became a little more stable.[157]

On 23 November 1272, however, the situation was radically altered with the death of Henry III. His son, the Lord Edward, was in Sicily and consequently control of the kingdom passed to a number of regents.[158] Encouraged by Gilbert's successes in Senghenydd, other Marcher lords went on the offensive against Llywelyn, and during 1272 – 73 Humphrey de Bohun began to recapture large areas of his lordship of Brecon from the prince of Wales.[159] Llywelyn was forced to abandon Uwch-Caiach and Meisgyn to concentrate on this new conflict, and Gilbert was thus able to reassert his authority there. These developments resulted in a direct change in Llywelyn's attitude towards the crown. He refused to perform fealty to the new king, and began to default on his instalments towards the 25,000 mark fine set by the Treaty of Montgomery for his privileges.[160] Following the return of Edward I to England in August 1274, relations between Llywelyn and the king deteriorated and war became inevitable.[161] In two campaigns in 1277 and 1282 Llywelyn was first driven back to Gwynedd and then, after he rebelled against Edward, he was killed in a skirmish near Builth Wells. With the capture and execution of his brother Daffydd in June 1283, the dynasty of Gwynedd was finally destroyed.[162]

Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare thus completed the process of territorial integration started by his grandfather and continued by his father. Although some Welsh families continued to hold scattered lands, the power of the commotal lords was permanently broken. Combined with Gilbert's recent acquisition of Caerleon, the Clare earls now enjoyed a substantial yet compact bloc of lordships in the southern March which, as we have seen, not only provided welcome revenue but also political and military strength for the family. The process of consolidation which took place in Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Usk and Caerleon was characterised by numerous developments to the political structure and everyday life of the lordships. One such development was the encouragement of existing urban centres and the foundation of new towns by the Clare earls of Gloucester across their Welsh estates. Indeed, the apparent importance of urban settlement in the process of consolidation was further

reinforced by Gilbert who, following his father's example at Llantrisant and Cowbridge, implanted a small dependant settlement alongside his castle of Caerphilly.[163] The nature of these urban developments and their wider implications are fully explored and considered in the following chapters.

THE RED EARL AND KING EDWARD I

While the ultimate defeat of Gwynedd was of great benefit to Gilbert in his struggle to subjugate the commotal lordships, it ultimately proved something of a double-edged sword. The conquest, subjugation and settlement of the principality of Wales now brought the relationship between the Crown and Marcher lords into focus. The March itself was a product of war and its very nature and being were shaped by the force of two centuries of constant warfare. After all, as we have seen, it was this process of slow, piecemeal conquest by the Marchers, quite individual from the king, which allowed them to assume such independent and wide ranging powers.[164] While some attempts had been made to limit Marcher powers, most notably under Henry III, the crown was generally content to maintain the Marchers' position for as long as the native Welsh remained a threat. Once Edward I had conquered Gwynedd, however, the Marchers' claim to be conquerors and defenders seemed somewhat hollow.[165]

Edward's concern, however, was not so much with the existing structure of Marcher law and administration. In the Statute of Wales issued in 1284, he expressly stated that disputes in the March should be settled "according to the customs of those parts".[166] What concerned Edward was the role of the crown in relation to them; in his view, ultimate authority lay with him in all his dominions which included the March. Edward had made this point as early as 1275, before the final conquest of Gwynedd, when he stated in the first Statute of Westminster that

> "in the Marches of Wales, or any other place where the king's writ does not run, the king who is sovereign lord will do right .... to all such as will complain".[167]

In addition to this supposed superiority of royal authority over Marcher privilege, Edward was also determined to stamp out the jealously guarded privilege of the right to wage private war.[168] While he was prepared to allow disputes to be settled by Marcher law rather than English common law, Edward saw the resort to private war as being an anachronism which had no part in the supremacy of the legal process which he had proclaimed in a series of statutes.[169] What the king claimed in theory had to be reinforced in practice, however, and Edward's earliest victims were the greatest, for during 1291 – 2 he summoned Gilbert de Clare, lord of Glamorgan, and Humphrey de Bohun, lord of Brecon, to answer charges of flouting a royal injunction prohibiting private war.[170]

The catalyst of the conflict between Gilbert and Humphrey was the construction, by Gilbert, of a castle at Morlais in the ill-defined border region between Uwch-Caiach and Brecon. Gilbert had built the castle to secure his control over Uwch-Caiach after it had been won back from Llywelyn, but de Bohun claimed that it was built on his territory. Humphrey appealed to the king and on 26 June 1289 Gilbert was ordered to stop building, although he appears to have disregarded the order.[171] On 20 January 1290, Gilbert was summoned to appear before the court of King's Bench.[172]

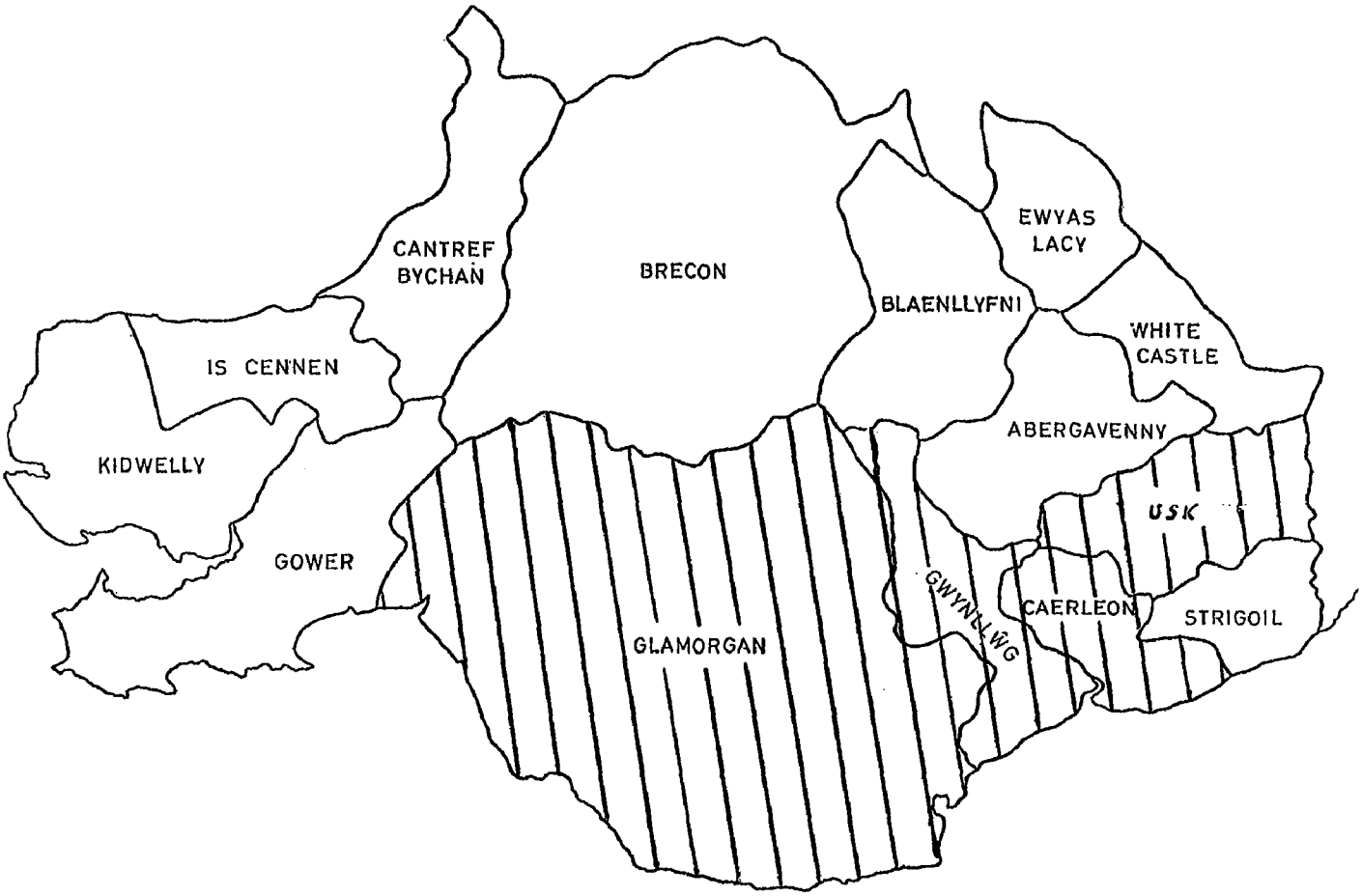


FIGURE TEN: CLARE MARCHER HOLDINGS C.1290

He failed to appear, however, and five days later Edward formally issued a proclamation forbidding private warfare in the March. Gilbert reacted to this challenge to his Marcher liberties by initiating an attack against Brecon which killed some of de Bohun's men, and seized various possessions and livestock.[173] Shortly afterwards, Gilbert married Edward's second surviving daughter, Joan of Acre, in a union which had been planned before the antagonisms over Morlais. The king made his displeasure felt at Gilbert's actions, though, by imposing a new condition for the marriage, by insisting that the entire Clare inheritance should be enfeoffed jointly to Gilbert and Joan.[174] What this meant in practice was that the inheritance, which now included the lands previously held by Maud in dower, who had died in 1289, was to pass to Gilbert and Joan's heirs, or failing heirs, to Joan's children by another marriage.[175]

Earl Gilbert saw this as a deliberate blow to his prestige on the part of the king. Indeed, he also saw it as a direct threat to the Clare line as he was nearly fifty and there was no guarantee that he and Joan would have children.[176] In the course of time, he and Joan would have a son and three daughters, so this fear was unfounded. In Gilbert's eyes, however, his independence had again been checked and his answer was to stage a second raid against Brecon on 5 June 1290.[177] A third attack was launched during November 1290, again seemingly an act of defiance against Edward rather than a strategic action against de Bohun.[178] The motivation appears to have been Edward's challenge to another of Gilbert's Marcher privileges, the right to the temporalities of Llandaf which lay in his lordships during a vacancy in the see. Edward claimed that the temporalities in fact belonged to the crown, and pressed his claims sufficiently hard to force Gilbert to renounce his claim on 23 October.[179] The rights were actually restored to Gilbert for life by "the king's special grace", but Edward had again demonstrated his royal authority while Gilbert had lost another privilege.[180] The third attack on Brecon was his answer.[181]

Humphrey de Bohun entered a fresh protest and the two parties, along with the other lords of the southern March, were summoned to meet at Ystradfellte in Brecon on 12 March 1291.[182] Many of the other lords had sympathy with Gilbert, whom they saw as a defender of their privileges, and they joined him in failing to attend.[183] Indeed, Humphrey himself was prepared to withdraw his complaint in order to protect the liberties of the March, but Edward was not prepared to allow this opportunity to demonstrate royal sovereignty pass. He arranged a second meeting at Llanthew in Brecon on 14 March, but Gilbert again failed to attend.[184] When the royal commissioners tried to organise a jury to settle the case, the Marcher lords refused to act as jurors, claiming that it was not a part of Marcher custom.[185] The final outcome could not be delayed indefinitely, however, and a jury was assembled from outside the March which testified to the facts of Gilbert's actions.[186] The judges reiterated the royal prohibition against private war and reported their findings to the king, who ordered that a new jury be summoned and that the parties be arraigned before him at Abergavenny in October.[187] This time Gilbert did not dare to absent himself, and Edward took the opportunity to fully demonstrate his sovereignty. Humphrey had been the innocent party, but he had foolishly responded to Gilbert's attacks by staging retaliatory raids against Glamorgan. He was imprisoned and his lordship of Brecon taken into royal custody.[188] Gilbert suffered a similar fate as he and his sheriff of Glamorgan were imprisoned and Glamorgan, too, passed into royal hands.[189]

Gilbert and Humphrey did not remain incarcerated for long; they were soon released on the surety of their friends.[190] Edward had made his point, both to the earls and the wider Marcher baronage. Gilbert was fined 10,000 marks and his lordship of Glamorgan was restored to him on 7 May 1292.[191] The power of the crown had been fully asserted and the concept of private war in the March was effectively nullified. Gilbert de Clare, the most powerful of all the Marcher lords and perhaps the greatest baron in the kingdom, had been publicly humiliated and Edward I had made it clear that the March now lay "within the power of the king of England".[192]

The remaining years of Gilbert's life were filled with yet more problems in the March. During 1294, a major revolt broke out in north Wales led by Madog ap Llywelyn, a member of the cadet branch of the house of Gwynedd.[193] This appears to have led to a series of more localised revolts across Wales, including Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, where the native Welsh rose under Morgan ap Maredudd, son of Maredudd ap Gruffydd of Machen. The revolt swept quickly through the lordship and Gilbert was forced to flee, barely escaping with his life, according to one chronicler.[194] The following year, Gilbert led forces into Glamorgan and by May had recovered Cardiff. In June, however, Edward I led a royal army into Glamorgan and received the local leader, Morgan ap Maredudd, and his followers into his own peace 'against the earl's wishes'.[195] Edward then took the homage of the major men of the lordship to himself and his heirs as kings of England. Finally, he took the lordship into his own hands and appointed a royal custodian to take charge of it.[196] Glamorgan was restored to Gilbert during October 1295, but once again Edward had taken the opportunity to reinforce his authority over the March. Just as he had used the *cause célèbre* of 1290 – 2 to demonstrate that the prerogative of the crown was more powerful than the liberties of the March, so he used the 1294 – 5 revolt to communicate a more basic truth that military might was stronger than Marcher right.[197] Gilbert had little time to make any reaction, however, as he died on 7 December and was buried two weeks later at Tewkesbury Abbey.[198]

The career of Gilbert de Clare, the 'Red Earl', was one of deep contrasts. He was the greatest of all the magnates in the realm and the most powerful man in the kingdom after the king himself, something which allowed him to become the decisive factor in the struggle between de Montfort and Henry III.[199] In his later years, however, the rejuvenated strength of the monarchy under Edward I dominated Gilbert to such an extent that his last decade was filled with 'dispirited humiliation.[200] Yet these setbacks should not disguise Gilbert's achievements in the March. For the first time the Clares held a fully integrated territorial bloc of lordships which stretched across much of south-eastern Wales. Despite the erosion of Marcher privileges by Edward I, the power and wealth that the Clare family derived from its Welsh lands was without parallel at the time of Gilbert's death.

GILBERT FITZ GILBERT DE CLARE, 'THE LAST EARL'

Earl Gilbert's son and heir, also named Gilbert, was a child of four at the time of his father's death and consequently the great inheritance remained in the hands of Countess Joan, who had been jointly enfeoffed with her husband upon their marriage in 1290. Joan, much to Edward's annoyance, secretly married Ralph de Monthermer, a young knight who had served in Gilbert's household

retinue.[201] The couple did fealty to the king on 2 August 1297, and for the next decade Ralph controlled the Gloucester inheritance, styling himself earl of Gloucester and Hertford *vita uxoris*.[202] Joan died on 23 April 1307, and the Clare estates passed to the Crown until Gilbert Fitz Gilbert came of age. However, Ralph was granted custody of the Welsh inheritance by Edward in recognition of his service to the king in Scotland.[203]

On 7 July 1307, Edward II succeeded to the throne and quickly granted seisin of the great inheritance to Gilbert.[204] The young earl served the new king better than most of the other great magnates and distinguished himself in the Scottish campaigns of 1308 – 11.[205] Like his grandfather, however, Edward soon found himself embroiled in a struggle with the barons that culminated in the Reform Ordinances of 1310 – 11, which attempted to place the royal household and the central administration under baronial control.[206] Gilbert maintained a position in the middle ground of the struggle, and when Edward was forced to agree to the appointment of a committee to draft proposals for reform, Gilbert served on the committee.[207] Although he was in favour of some reforms, Gilbert sought a moderate settlement. Indeed, when the king went to Scotland he appointed Gilbert as his regent in England, relying on his loyalty and personal standing to preserve the peace.[208]

Throughout this period, Gilbert continued to take a central political role and the king relied heavily upon his support and counsel to prevent baronial hostility developing into open civil war. However, while the baronial opposition was threatening to tear the kingdom apart, Edward also had to face the advance of Robert the Bruce in Scotland. Edinburgh had been lost and the borders suffered from Scottish attacks.[209] Edward raised a large army and set out to relieve Stirling, the last major English stronghold north of the River Tweed. On 23 June 1314, the royal army reached Bannockburn, some three miles from Stirling Castle, where it was confronted by Robert Bruce.[210] Gilbert, together with the earl of Hereford, was in the van of the English army and advised the king to order a day's rest. Edward spurned his advice and ordered that battle should be joined the next day, 24 June. Edward accused Gilbert of being deceitful and treacherous. Gilbert retorted sharply and impetuously plunged into battle. He led a gallant charge against the Scots' line led by Robert's brother, Edward, but was inadequately supported by his own troops. Isolated from his forces, he was unhorsed and slain.[211]

On 10 July, some two weeks after the humiliation of his army at Bannockburn, Edward II took control of the Clare lands and began to appoint keepers.[212] It was a difficult situation for the king for not only had he lost his gallant ally, but he was also faced with the forthcoming partitioning of the great Clare inheritance. Gilbert had died without any surviving heirs of the body and consequently the nearest heirs were his three full sisters, Eleanor, Margaret and Elizabeth, and their respective husbands, Hugh le Despenser the younger, Hugh D'Audley and Roger Damory. There was to be no quick partition, however. Countess Maud, Gilbert's widow, was thought to be pregnant by the late earl and thus Edward was bound to keep the inheritance in his own hands. This was particularly welcome to the king because once an heir was born, he was likely to receive considerable revenue from the estates during the subsequent wardship.[213] In December 1314 and February 1315 Edward granted a third of the inheritance to Maud in dower, including Caerleon and Usk.

PARTITION

As 1315 progressed, however, it became increasingly clear that the countess was not pregnant, although she maintained her claim. In October, Hugh le Despenser argued that as more than the normal period of gestation had elapsed, any child subsequently born could not be considered Gilbert's.[214] Edward still hoped to keep the inheritance intact, however, and the matter was adjourned and delayed until December 1316.[215] By this time it was obvious to all that the countess' hopes for an heir were illusory. Her motives are unclear; she may have been pregnant in 1314 and miscarried, or perhaps had a personal antipathy to Despenser and wished to postpone the partition indefinitely.[216] It became obvious to the king that he could not postpone the partition any longer, however, and he ordered a new valuation of the estates. Finally, on 15 November 1317, the partition was effected.[217]

A complete copy of the partition, compiled shortly after the event, has survived and allows us to obtain a clear understanding of its terms.[218] Hugh le Despenser and Eleanor received Glamorgan, the most important Clare possession, Rutherfield in Sussex and manors in Devon and Somerset.[219] Roger Damory and Elizabeth were granted the bulk of the honour of Clare in East Anglia, together with manors and boroughs in Dorset and Llangwm manor in Usk.[220] Finally, Hugh D'Audley and Margaret received Gwynllŵg, which became a separate lordship in its own right, the honour of Tonbridge and various estates in Surrey, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk and Hampshire.[221] In addition, each received a two-ninths share of the liberty of Kilkenny.[222] This three way division did not include the entire Clare inheritance, however, as the Countess Maud retained her dowry, which included Caerleon and Usk. Upon her death in 1320, her dowry was also partitioned between the three heiresses. Despenser received a substantial share of the honour of Gloucester, including the manor and borough of Tewkesbury.[223] D'Audley was granted lands in Wiltshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Surrey and Kent.[224] Meanwhile, Damory received a significant share in the March with the grant of the newly unified lordship of Usk and Caerleon.[225] Each party also received an equal share of Maud's one-third share of Kilkenny.

The death of Gilbert Fitz Gilbert and the subsequent partition of his estates brought to a close some two hundred and fifty years of Clare expansion in England, Wales and Ireland. It had been a period which saw the family rise to become the dominant baronial force in thirteenth and early fourteenth century England, playing a major role in shaping the most important events of the age. What becomes most clear to us, however, is that it was the Welsh Marcher lordships which assumed an importance out of all proportion to their monetary value or geographical area. As has been mentioned earlier, this interest by the Clares in their Welsh lordships manifested itself in numerous developments to the political, economic and settlement patterns of these lands. One such area, of course, was the focus of this study; namely the development of urban centres. With a clear understanding of the Clares' wider activities during the period firmly in mind, it should now be possible to investigate the influence exerted by the earls upon the patterns and nature of urban settlement in their Welsh lordships.

Notes

1. Ward, J.C. (1964) The Estates of the Clare Family, 1066 – 1314, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 10.
2. Douglas, D. 'The Earliest Norman Counts'. English Historical Review. LXI (1946). P. 134.
3. Ibid. p. 140.
4. Ibid; Gilbert inherited Brionne but Eu passed to another of Duke Richard's bastard sons, William. Gilbert regained it upon the death of William.
5. Altschul, M. (1965) A Baronial Family in Medieval England : The Clares 1217 – 1314, p. 18.
6. Ward (1964), p. 11.
7. Altschul (1965), loc. cit.
8. Ibid.
9. Baldwin's sons, Richard and William, also took part in an abortive invasion of Carmarthen in the early twelfth century ; Farley, A. and Ellis, H. (eds.) (1783) Liber Censualis vocatus Domesday Book. Vol. I, pp. 81, 93, 105 – 6; Round, J.H. (1895) Feudal England. pp. 329, 427 ; idem (1901) Studies in Peerage and Family History. pp. 212 – 4 ; Lloyd, J.E. (1939) A History of Wales. Vol. II. pp. 401, 406, 427.
10. Domesday Book. I. fols. 14, 34b, 35b, 72, 113, 130, 142b, 196b, 207, 216 : II. 38b – 39, 263, 389b, 447b – 448. The honour of Clare contained lands in the counties of Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire, Devon, Middlesex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk.
11. Ibid, I. 4 – 6.
12. Altschul (1965). p. 19.
13. Stenton, F. (1947) Anglo-Saxon England. pp. 623 – 5 ; Ward, J.C. (1964). p. 12.
14. Gibbs, V. et al (eds.) (1910 – 59) G.E. Cokayne. The Complete Peerage... of the United Kingdom. III. p. 243.
15. Ward, J.C. (1965). p. 13.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid ; Brook, C. (1963) The Saxon and Norman Kings. pp. 179 – 80, 186, 189 – 92.
18. Jones, T. (ed.) (1952) Brut y Tywysogyon : Peniarth MS. 20. p. 34.
19. Altschul (1965). p. 20.
20. Ibid.
21. Sanders, I.J. (1960) English Baronies. pp. 110 – 11, 129 – 30.
22. Altschul (1965). p. 21.
23. Davies, R.R. (1987) The Age of Conquest. p. 45.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid. pp. 40 – 1.
26. Ibid. p. 45.
27. See above, chapter one ; Crouch, D. 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan 1067 – 1158'. Morgannwg. XXIX (1985). p. 45.
28. Davies, R.R. (1987). p. 45.

29. Gibbs et al (eds.). Vol. X, pp. 349 – 50.

30. Ibid. X. pp. 348 – 98, note d.

31. Ibid. X. pp. 349 – 51.

32. Howell, R. (1988) A History of Gwent. p. 53.

33. Ibid.

34. Davies, R.R. (1987). p. 271.

35. For a detailed discussion of the political situation in Ireland at this time see Cosgrove, A. (ed.) (1987) A New History of Ireland : II Medieval Ireland 1169 – 1534. pp. 1 – 66 ; Flanagan, M.T. (1989) Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship. pp. 7 – 79.

36. Howell (1988). p. 53.

37. Cosgrove, A. (ed.) (1987). pp. 65 – 6.

38. Ibid. pp. 67 – 86.

39. Ibid.

40. The agreement was reached at Newent in Gloucestershire in September, before Henry sailed to Ireland..

41. Crouch (1985). p. 33 ; see above, chapter one.

42. See above, chapter one.

43. Altschul (1965). p. 22.

44. Ibid. p. 22 ; Isabel and William Marshal gained possession c.1189.

45. Ibid. p. 23 ; Gilbert was earl of Hertford in 1141 when he witnessed a charter of King Stephen as "comes Gislebertus de Heortford".

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Lloyd, J.E. (1939). pp. 506, 513 – 14.

49. Hall, H. (ed.) (1896) Red Book of the Exchequer. pp. 406 – 07.

50. Stenton, D. (ed.) Pipe Roll 2 Richard I. pp. 102, 145 ; Conway-Davies, J. (ed.) (1957). Cartae Antiquae Rolls. 11 – 20. pp. 165 – 6.

51. Altschul (1965). p. 24.

52. Ward (1964). pp. 14 – 15.

53. Stenton, D. (ed.) (1930) Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I. (Pipe Roll Society Vol. XLV, new series VII). p. 288 ; Richardson, H.G. (ed.) (1943) 'Liberate Roll 2' in Memoranda Roll I John 6 (Pipe Roll Society Vol. LIX, new series XXI). pp. 126 – 27 ; Gibbs et al (eds.). Vol. V. pp. 672 – 3.

54. Ward (1964). p. 15.

55. PRO. Pipe Roll 9. Henry III. E..372/69, r. 8 – 8d.

56. Luard, H.R. (ed.) Matthew Paris Chronica Majora. Vol. VI. pp. 71 – 2.

57. Gibbs et al (eds.). VI. p. 502 and note 1.

58. Altschul (1965). p. 22 ; Hardy, T.D. (ed.) Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum. 1204 – 1227. I, 344b.

59. Ward (1964). loc. cit.

60. Altschul (1965). p. 27.

61. For a detailed consideration of the survival of native Welsh kingship in Glamorgan, see Crouch, D. (1985). passim.

62. Smith, J. Beverley. 'The Lordship of Glamorgan', Morgannwg. II (1958). pp. 13 – 23.

63. Altschul, M. 'Glamorgan under the rule of the Clare Family'. Glamorgan County History. Vol. III (1971). passim.

64. Ifor Bach had staged a raid upon Cardiff castle in 1158 and captured earl William of Gloucester who had taken lands from his lordship of Senghenydd. His real name was Ifor ap Meurig.

65. Lloyd, J.E. (1939). p. 771.

66. Smith, J.B. (1958). pp. 25 – 7.

67. Altschul (1965). pp. 57 – 8.

68. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1864) 'Annales de Margam' in Annales Monastici. Vol. I. pp. 34 – 5 ; Smith, J.B. (1958). pp. 25, 27 ; Altschul (1965). p. 58.

69. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent. II. pp. 359 – 6 ; III. pp. 925 – 6 ; the charter was a challenge to an earlier charter issued by Gilbert which claimed authority over the abbey.

70. Altschul (1965). p. 59.

71. Luard (1864) 'Annales de Margam'. p. 37.

72. Ibid. pp. 36 – 7.

73. Ibid ; Spurgeon, J. Glamorgan Later Castles and Fortifications; Town Defences:- Kenfig. (forthcoming R.C.A.H.M.W. publication).

74. Altschul (1965). pp. 59 – 60.

75. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1216 – 1232, p. 412.

76. Luard (1864) 'Annales de Margam'. pp. 37 – 9 ; Lloyd, J.E. (1939). pp. 673 – 75 ; Jones, T. (ed.) (1955) Brut y Tywysogyon : Red Book of Hergest Version. p. 229 ; idem (1952) Brut y Tywysogyon : Peniarth MS.20. p. 102 ; Williams ap Ithel, J. (ed.) (1860) Annales Cambriae. p. 78 ; Jones, T. (ed.) 'Chronica de Wallia' Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies. XII (1946 – 48). p. 37 ; Spurgeon, J. forthcoming.

77. Altschul (1965). p. 64 ; Calendar of Close Rolls. 1232 – 37, pp. 590 1, 594 – 5.

78. Altschul (1965). pp. 64 – 5.

79. Powicke, M. (1947) King Henry III and the Lord Edward I. pp. 135 – 38.

80. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1231 – 34, pp. 594 – 5.

81. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1232 – 47, pp. 53, 96.

82. Altschul (1965). p. 66.

83. Ibid. p. 69.

84. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1864) 'Annales de Theokesberia', in Annales Monastici. Vol. I, pp. 124 – 5.

85. A full record of the case survives in P.R.O. Curia Regis Roll. 31 – 42 Henry III. K6 25/159 mm. 2, 10 – 11.

86. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae. III, p. 859 ; Griffiths, R.A. 'The Medieval Boroughs of Glamorgan and Medieval Swansea'. Glamorgan County History. III (1971). p. 338.

87. Jones, T. (1952). p. 107 ; idem (1955). p. 241.

88. PRO. Curia Regis Roll. KB 26/159 m.2.

89. Ibid. mm. 2, 10 – 10d ; Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. II. p. 548.

90. Smith, J. Beverley (1958). pp. 33 – 4.

91. As Altschul correctly notes, Curia Regis Roll KB 26/159 was compiled for Edward I and thus the final decision may have been deliberately omitted due to Edward's desire not to tolerate the privileges Earl Richard claimed.

92. Hywel fled to the court of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in Gwynedd, but the family retained a small interest in Meisgyn; Jones, T. (1955). p. 241 ; idem (1952). p. 107, Edwards, J.G. (ed.) Littere Wallie. pp. 44. 184 – 5 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1272 – 81. p. 300.

93. See below, chapters three and five. passim.

94. Gibbs, V. et al (eds.). X. p. 377. The closest contemporary versions of the partition are PRO. Chancery Miscellanea. C.47/9/20 ; and PRO. Rentals and Surveys. SC11/22/ Both date c.1248 – 49.

95. Ibid. The lordship of Leinster had, of course, originally been held by Richard 'Strongbow' de Clare.

96. Altschul (1965). p. 76.

97. It is mentioned in a charter believed to be of that date to Margam Abbey ; Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae II. p. 532.

98. See below, chapters three and five,. passim.

99. Ibid.

100. Lloyd, J.E. (1939). pp. 706 – 15 ; Davies, R.R. (1987) The Age of Conquest. pp. 305 – 20.

101. Jones, T. (ed.) (1952). p. 111 ; idem (1955). p. 249.

102. Smith, J. Beverley (1958). p. 35.

103. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1864) 'Annales de Theokesberia'. p. 197 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 337.

104. For a full explanation and discussion of the reform movement see Maddicott, J.R. (1994) Simon de Montfort. passim.

105. Altschul (1965). pp. 82 – 3.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid. pp. 86 – 7.

108. Maddicott (1994). pp. 167, 180 – 1.

109. Ibid. p. 191 ; Calendar of Close Rolls 1259 – 61. pp. 283 – 4.

110. Altschul (1965). p. 90.

111. Ibid.

112. Maddicott (1994). pp. 201 – 3, 206.

113. Altschul (1965). p. 91.

114. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1261 – 64. p. 123 ; Maddicott (1994). p. 207 – 09.

115. Altschul (1965). loc. cit.

116. Gilbert was born on the 2 September 1243. Luard (1864) 'Annales de Theokesberia'. p. 130.

117. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1261 – 64. pp. 212 – 3. Humphrey was replaced by Walter de Sully in February 1263.

118. Altschul (1965). p. 96.

119. Ibid.

120. Llywelyn had launched campaigns against the lordships of Brecon and Maelienydd in particular. Davies, R.R. (1987). pp. 312 – 14.

121. Altschul (1965). p. 97.

122. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1258 – 66. pp. 269 – 74, 178 – 80. ; Maddicott (1994). pp. 225 – 239.

123. Altschul (1965). loc. cit. For a detailed consideration of these events, see Maddicott (1994). pp. 248 – 56.

124. PRO. Pipe Roll. 48 Henry III. E.372/108 r. 5d.

125. Altschul (1965). pp. 99 – 100. ; Gilbert's decision may also have been motivated by a growing personal animosity towards de Montfort.

126. Maddicott (1994). pp. 270 – 72.

127. Altschul (1965). pp. 107 – 08. ; Maddicott (1994). pp. 327 – 29.

128. A full account of the battle is given in Maddicott (1994). pp. 331 – 45.

129. Altschul (1965). p. 117. The new dower settlement is contained in PRO., Rentals and Surreys. General Series. SC11/610 m. 1.

130. Ibid.

131. Altschul (1965). p. 118. As Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Usk were still in royal hands when this grant was made, Gilbert had no base of operations from which to exploit it.

132. PRO. Chancery Miscellanea. C47/14/6 no. 4.

133. Altschul (1965). p. 119.

134. Ibid. p. 145.

135. Davies, R.R. (1978) Lordship and Society in the March of Wales. 1282 – 1400. p. 217.

136. Ibid. p. 218.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid. pp. 218 – 19.

139. Ibid. p. 219.

140. Ward, J.C. (1964). p. 280.

141. He was originally taken to Cardiff and then on to Kilkenny. Altschul (1965). p. 123.

142. Llywelyn, as part of the treaty was allowed to retain control over the lands he had conquered together with those of his vassals, which he interpreted to include Senghenydd ; Altschul (1965). pp. 122 – 23 ; Davies, R.R. (1987). pp. 321 – 22.

143. See above. p. 68.

144. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1264 – 68. p. 477.

145. Rees, W. (1974) Caerphilly Castle and its place in the Annals of Glamorgan. p. 22.

146. Altschul (1965). p. 126.

147. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1242 – 47. p. 447 ; See above, chapter one.

148. Green, E. (ed.) (1892) 'Feet of Fines for the county of Somerset 1196 – 1307' (Somerset Record Society. VI). PP. 377 – 78 ; British Museum. Additional Manuscript 6041. fol. 78.

149. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1266 – 72. p. 385.

150. Rees (1974). p. 24.

151. Ibid. pp. 24 – 5.

152. Altschul (1965). p. 130 ; Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. II. pp. 757 – 60. ; Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1266 – 72. pp.591, 596.

153. Rees, W. (1974). p. 131.

154. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae. III. pp. 888 – 89.

155. Shirley, W. (ed.) (1862-6) Royal Letters. Henry III (Rolls Series, XXVII). II. pp. 342 – 3.

156. Altschul (1965). p. 131.

157. Ibid. pp. 131 – 33.

158. Ibid. p. 132.

159. Rymer, T. et al (eds.) (1816 – 69) Foedera,. Conventiones,. Litterae. I. pp. 498, 505 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1272 – 81. pp. 116 – 17 ; Rees, W. 'The Lordship of Brecon'. Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1915 – 16). pp. 197 – 9.

160. Altschul (1965). p. 132.

161. Ibid. p. 135.

162. For a more detailed consideration of Edward I's Welsh Wars, see Davies, R.R. (1987). pp. 333 – 54.

163. Rees, W. (1974). pp. 30 – 1.

164. See above, pp. 68 – 9.

165. In 1250, Henry III had claimed that the temporalities of the see of Llandaf belonged to the crown and not the lord of Glamorgan if the see was vacant. He did not push the claim fully, however, and control remained with Richard de Clare. Conway – Davies, J. (ed.) 'Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to the Welsh Dioceses 1062 – 1272' Historical Society of the Church in Wales. Vol. II. pp. 735, 738, 739, 750, 781.

166. Conway-Davies, J. (ed.) 'The Welsh Assize Roll'. Board of Celtic Studies History and Law Series. no. VII. p. 309.

167. Davies, R.R. (1987). pp. 376 – 7.

168. Altschul (1965). p. 146.

169. Ibid.

170. The entire case was recorded in the parliament held at Westminster at Michaelmas from 19 – 20 Edward I. (1291 – 2) ; it is printed in Rotuli Parliamentorum (Record Commission, 1783 – 1832). I. pp. 70 – 77.

171. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1288 – 96. p. 47.

172. PRO. Coram Rege Roll. Hiliary 18 Edward I. KB. 27/122 m.l.

173. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 71 – 2. The quarrel between Edward and the lords is dealt with in greater detail in McFarlane, K.B. (1973) The Nobility of Medieval England.

174. Calendar of Fine Rolls. 1272 – 1307. pp. 274 – 5. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1281 – 92. pp. 350 – 2, 359 – 60 ; Edwards, J.G. (ed.) Littere Wallie. p. 177.

175. The countess died in 1289 and Gilbert received seisin of her dowry on March 10 1289.

176. Gilbert had two daughters by his first wife, Alice de Lusignan, but they were now excluded from the inheritance.

177. Altschul (1965). pp. 147 – 8.

178. Ibid. p. 148.

179. Ibid. pp. 273 – 5.

180. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 42 – 3, 71 – 2. ; Littere Wallie. p. 178 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1281 – 92. p. 393 ; Calendar of Charter Rolls. 1257 – 1300. p. 372.

181. Morris, J.E. (1901) The Welsh Wars of Edward I. p. 226 ; Altschul (1965). p. 150.

182. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 70 – 1 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1281 – 92. pp. 452 – 454.

183. Ibid.

184. Altschul (1965). p. 150.

185. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 71.

186. Ibid.

187. Altschul (1965). p. 151.

188. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 73 – 4.

189. Ibid.

190. Altschul (1965). p. 152.

191. Rotuli Parliamentorum. I. pp. 77 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1281 – 92. . 489, 501.

192. Year Book 12. Edward II. 1319. (Selden society. 1964). p. 130.

193. Davies, R.R. (1987). p. 382 ; Fryde, E.B. (ed.) (1962) Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294 – 5. pp. XXVI – XIV.

194. Edwards, J.G. (ed.) Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales. p. 208 ; Luard, H.R. (ed.) 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', in Annales Monastici. III. p. 144 ; 'Annales Prioratus de Wigornia'. in Ibid. IV. p. 526.

195. Davies, R.R. (1978) Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282 – 1400. p. 255.

196. Ibid. p. 255 – 6.

197. Ibid.

198. Altschul (1965). pp. 155 – 6.

199. Gilbert was described as 'the greatest magnate in the realm in nobility and eminence, and incomparably the most powerful man in the kingdom – next to the king himself' by the Osney Chronicle in 1290, see Luard, H.R. (ed.) Annales Monastici. Vol. IV. p. 323.

200. Altschul (1965). p. 156.

201. Ibid. p. 157.

202. Edward had intended Joan to marry Amadeus V, Count of Savoy, and upon hearing of her marriage to Ralph he seized the estates and imprisoned Ralph at Bristol. He eventually relented, however, but kept control of Tonbridge and the Isle of Portland until 1301. Ibid. pp. 157 – 8.

203. Ibid. p. 159.

204. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1301 – 07. p. 534 ; Ibid. 1307 – 13. p. 5.

205. Altschul (1965). pp. 160 – 1.

206. Ibid. p. 160.

207. Ibid. p. 162.

208. Ibid.

209. Denholm-Young, N. (ed.) (1957). p. 52.

210. Altschul (1965). p. 164.

211. Ibid. ; Denholm-Young (1957). p. 52.

212. Calendar of Fine Rolls. 1307 – 19. pp. 201 – 02, 204, 214.

213. In 1317 the total inheritance was valued at £6,532 5s. 7¾d. per annum. Of this £1,318 10s. 10¼d. was from Glamorgan and £1,198 14s. 9½ d. from Gwynllŵg, Usk and Caerleon ; PRO., C.47/9/23, 24, 26.

214. Altschul (1965). p. 167.

215. Ibid. p. 168.

216. Ibid.

217. Calendar of Fine Rolls. 1307 – 19. pp. 350 – 1.

218. PRO. Chancery Miscellanea. C.47/9/23 – 25.

219. Ibid. C.47/9/24.

220. Ibid. C.47/9/25.

221. Ibid. C.47/9/23.

222. Ibid. C.47/9/23-5.

223. Ibid. C.47/9/24.

224. Ibid. C.47/9/23.

225. Ibid. C.47/9/25 ; for a comprehensive study of all the individual manors held by each heiress, see Altschul, M. (1965). Appendix II.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WELSH INHERITANCE

The successful assertion of political control over the lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk accomplished by the Clare earls of Gloucester during the course of the thirteenth century represented only the very beginning of lordship. It was only by means of a continuing effort that military overlordship could be turned into a precise and profitable authority over land and men, and this was the challenge faced by the Clares.[1] As has been seen, the Clares as Marcher lords possessed powers and privileges which rendered their lordships virtual kingdoms in miniature.[2] These powers were highly significant for not only did they allow the Clares to consolidate their political position, for example by extending their control over the commotal lordships, but also because they allowed Earl Richard and his son Gilbert to effect a thorough process of administrative reorganisation within their Welsh lands.[3] This reorganisation of the existing administrative structure represents a watershed in the development of the Clares' Marcher lordships during the thirteenth century. Before turning to consider the development of urban centres during the period of Clare lordship, therefore, it would be beneficial to obtain a better understanding of these administrative changes. Indeed, this is essential if the nature of the subsequent urban development is to be properly understood.

CONSOLIDATION AND REORGANISATION

Upon the acquisition of Glamorgan in 1217, the nature of seigneurial control within the lordship was extremely variable from area to area. Since the initial conquest under fitz Hamo, the lord of Glamorgan had retained control of the commote of Cibwr for himself, with the castle at Cardiff representing the administrative centre of the lordship. Manors were established at Roath and Leckwith to serve the needs of the garrison and the lord himself, while outside the castle gates the borough of Cardiff had prospered.[4] Outside of the boundaries of this seigneurial focus, however, the level of control exercised by the lord was far less pronounced. Indeed, as Rees Davies has suggested, even in lowland Glamorgan much of the authority of the lord was no more than the supervisory feudal control of a feudal lord.[5] The mesne manors held of the lord in the shire-fee were valued at nearly £500 in 1262, but the lord himself had to be content with a castle guard rent of £12 5s. 0d. per annum together with the profits of the curia comitatus.[6] Outside the mesne lands of the lordship, seigneurial control was even less pronounced and this was especially true of the large sub-infeudated lordships such as Coity and Talyfan. These lordships were held by 'royal liberty' in return for a token serjeanty of hunting and the maintenance of the lord of Glamorgan's rights to wardship and marriage.[7] The lord's control was even weaker in the commotal lordships of Senghenydd, Meisgyn, Glynrhondda and Afan, however; the native Welsh lords being bound to the lord of Glamorgan by a minimal set of ties of obligation.[8] They held their lands according to native rules of tenure and descent, although they vigorously maintained a claim of independence from the lord of Glamorgan's rule. In terms of administration, this meant that the Clares could only claim a limited number of the usual feudal aids

and incidents.[9] As late as 1262, the native lords of Senghenydd and Machen in Gwynllŵg held their lands by Welsh tenure and were required to render no services other than heriot.[10]

The policy of consolidation undertaken by the Clares during the thirteenth century radically altered this situation. As has been seen, Richard and Gilbert 'the Red' converted this remote territorial superiority into precise territorial control.[11] The dispossession of all opposition, primarily native Welsh but also Anglo-Norman mesne lords in the form of Richard Siward, demonstrated the lord's military and judicial superiority and gave a new definition to lordship in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg.[12] More than that, however, the Clares effectively completed a second conquest of Glamorgan, extending their territorial basis for lordship and therefore allowing them to reorganise the way in which their lordship was exploited and administered to their own best advantage.[13]

The most obvious signs of this consolidation and administrative reorganisation were the castles and boroughs which were swiftly erected within the boundaries of the recently seized commotal lordships. As was briefly mentioned in chapter two, a castle was built at Llantrisant as early as 1246 to serve as the military and administrative centre of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda.[14] In turn, Llantrisant was followed by Caerphilly castle, built 1270 – 2, which performed a similar role in Senghenydd.[15] At both locations, the castles were soon supplemented by small dependent boroughs that served to reinforce the castles as deliberate manifestations of the power and authority of the lord of Glamorgan.[16] Both towns were initially diminutive in size, and would seem to have been primarily intended to support the castle in an area which could not have been confidently regarded as totally secure.[17] Interestingly, the population of Llantrisant at this time would appear to have contained a high proportion of native Welsh, something which was still unusual in the boroughs of Glamorgan at this time. However, as Ralph Griffiths has suggested, this would support the view that Llantrisant was essentially a rural settlement whose prime purpose was to support the castle through the rents and labour services of free and unfree men.[18]

The seizure of the native commotal lordships and the subsequent foundation of administrative centres at Llantrisant and Caerphilly had turned a previously autonomous area into a much more centralised bloc of seigneurial lands. While the new castles and towns represented the centres of administration and served to demonstrate the superiority of the lord of Glamorgan, it was the attitude taken to the administration and organisation of these lordships from the ground up which would determine whether or not the resources of the newly won lands would be best utilised.[19] This desire to better exploit the upland commotes was not achieved by a wholesale imposition of Anglo-Norman lowland practices, however, but rather by a combination of some selective changes and a conscious maintenance of continuity. The control exercised by the Clare family was further reinforced by the extension of manorial exploitation into the upland commotes.[20] Manors appurtenant to Llantrisant were developed at Radyr, Pentyrch and Cloun, while Caerphilly was served by manors at Whitchurch and Merthyr Tydfil.[21] This obvious extension of lowland practices was minimal, however, and most of the population of the uplands continued to exploit the land along traditional lines. The Clares also

resisted the temptation to impose any alien social and legal institutions upon the native population. The native unit of territorial organisation, the commote, was retained and the Clares appear to have been largely content to exact the established tributary rents and dues which had previously been paid to the native rulers.[22] The pattern established in the commotes of Glamorgan was extended to the sub-lordship of Gwynllŵg following the seizure of Machen in 1270. As with Glamorgan, the southern lowlands of Gwynllŵg had been subjected to heavy Anglo-Norman settlement and it was there that the bulk of the demesne lands were located.[23] The castle and borough of Newport represented the caput of the small lordship and these was supplemented by the manors of Rumney, Dowlais and Stowe. Following the expulsion of Maredudd ap Gruffydd from Machen, Gilbert 'the Red' also held some scattered properties in this upland commote, most notably the manor of Dyffryn Ebbw.[24] The relatively small size of Gwynllŵg in comparison with Glamorgan, however, seems to have meant that a borough and castle within Machen was not necessary. As in the case of Glamorgan, the native Welsh social and legal systems were maintained and incorporated into the overall structure of the lordship.[25]

The desire of the Clare earls of Gloucester to convert their lordship of Glamorgan from a loose confederation into a more centralised bloc of member lordships and demesne lands also had direct implications for the Anglicized lowlands.[26] As has been seen, the depth of seigneurial control was not as great as might be imagined. In their role as feudal overlords, the Clares could not interfere in the internal affairs of the sub-lordships such as Coity so long as the existing terms of tenure were met. They could, however, insist that the curia comitatus had authority over the local courts within the sub-lordships. This point was reinforced by Earl Richard in a case with Lleision ap Morgan Gam of Afan in 1249, and it certainly increased the lord of Glamorgan's control over his sub-tenantry.[27] Of even greater importance in the development of the lordship, Earl Richard also demonstrated that he would not tolerate any actions by his sub-tenants which contradicted the oaths of homage and fealty which they had sworn to him. As Richard Siward discovered to his cost, the Clares were not to be defied with impunity.[28] The forfeiture of Siward's lordships of Llanbleddian, Talyfan and Ruthin did a great deal more than simply serve as a warning to the other sub-lords, however. The Siward lands were taken directly into the earl's demesne and thus as well as demonstrating his judicial superiority, Earl Richard had also succeeded in extending the territorial basis of his lordship quite substantially.[29]

The lands which were taken from Siward were, of course, quite different in nature from the native commotal lordships of the uplands. Located in an area which had been wrested from Welsh control in the twelfth century, they mirrored the neighbouring shire-fee in being heavily anglicized with a good deal of manorial exploitation. Despite these obvious differences, however, the lowland acquisitions shared a common line of development with the native commotes, namely an encouragement of urbanisation. The town of Cowbridge was begun in earnest by Richard de Clare in the heart of Siward's confiscated lands.[30] Unlike the fledgling boroughs at Llantrisant and Caerphilly, however, the town of Cowbridge was not intended to be a simple appendix to a castle. Indeed, because of its relatively sheltered position deep in the Vale of Glamorgan, Cowbridge developed without the

immediate protection of a castle and, as Ralph Griffiths has identified, it is thus unique in medieval Glamorgan in not being named after an adjacent castle.[31] Rather, because of the widely different political situation and administrative needs of the lowlands in comparison with the native Welsh commotes, it is likely that the town was intended as a commercial venture from the outset by acting as a marketing centre for the surrounding rich agricultural lands. This view will be developed in chapter five.

The extension of Clare power in the southern March during the thirteenth century also meant that a policy of consolidation had to be effected in the eastern lordships of Usk and Caerleon. The nature of these former components of the old lordship of Netherwent was rather different from the Clares' existing lordships of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, however. Unlike the clearly defined areas of demesne land and sub-infeudated lordships described above, the demesne lands of the Caerleon and Usk were scattered much more evenly across the lordships, with fewer, smaller, subordinate fiefs.[32] This was in part due to the fact that both Usk and Caerleon lacked such a sharp geographical and political definition between lowland and upland. Indeed, this undoubtedly contributed to the fact that the whole of the lordships of Usk and Caerleon had been subjected to Anglicisation earlier than Glamorgan. This in turn meant that there was not the same scale of problem with difficult, virtually independent native lordships.[33] Neither Usk nor Caerleon were wholly autonomous, however, as the legacy of the Marshal Partition meant that some of the lands within the lordships had passed to other families.[34] Consequently, the Clare earls of Gloucester recognised that more subtle methods had to be employed to fully integrate the new lordships into their control. Through a combination of purchase and pressure, first by Earl Richard in Usk and then by Earl Gilbert in Caerleon, their lordship was consolidated by acquiring those lands initially outside their control. Tregrug manor in Usk lordship was acquired by Richard, while Gilbert obtained lands at Magor, Malpas and Caerleon from Madoc ap Hywel of Bassaleg, together with the manor of Little Tintern from William de Champeneys.[35] Indeed, the only overt display of military power occurred in 1270. Maredudd ap Gruffydd, who was evicted from Machen by Earl Gilbert, also held the bedelries of Edelegan and Llefenydd in Caerleon and these were seized and added to the lord's demesne.[36]

The Clare earls had again succeeded in consolidating their position in the March by extending their personal power over Usk and Caerleon as much as possible. As with Glamorgan, however, the challenge which they faced was to develop their administrative grip and exploit the lordships to their own best advantage. The situation in Caerleon and Usk bore some similarities to that in the lordships confiscated from Richard Siward. Independent Welsh power had largely been extinguished within the lordships prior to their acquisition by the Clares and significantly, therefore, the area comprised a mixture of demesne manors and dependent Welshries, or bedelries as they were known in Usk and Caerleon.[37] The pattern employed in Glamorgan was consequently introduced into these new acquisitions, with the Englishries and bedelries continuing to be administered by their own systems.[38] A further parallel can be drawn between the methods used in Usk and Caerleon and those used in Glamorgan, namely the implantation of new urban settlement. As has been discussed in chapter one, a

borough had been established at Usk, the caput of the lordship, during the second half of the twelfth century. To the north-west of the castle and borough of Usk, however, lay a small motte and bailey castle at Trelech. The construction of the motte suggests that it dated from the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, but its existence is not substantiated by any documentary evidence before 1231.[39] Whether or not some form of fledgling town existed around the castle before 1245 we cannot say, but the complete lack of any reference to such a settlement in the surviving evidence prior to the Clare period of control makes such a scenario extremely unlikely. Indeed, the general paucity of surviving evidence from Trelech during the period as a whole means that the first direct reference we have for a borough dates from 1288, when the town already contained some 378 burgages.[40] Clearly, to have attained such an impressive size Trelech must have been developing for some time, and it may well be the case that development was initiated by Earl Richard soon after his acquisition of the lordship in 1245.[41] The reasons behind this spectacular growth will be considered in subsequent chapters, but the development of the town and castle at Trelech certainly demonstrated that a new and more intense stage in the administration and exploitation of the lordship of Usk was underway.

What this consideration of the Clares' policy of consolidation in their Welsh lordships during the thirteenth century illustrates most clearly is the fact that land, and the subsequent control of the population of that land, represented the basis of lordship in the March during the thirteenth century.[42] The attraction of the March to the Clares, after all, centred around the compact, easily administered lands which, with the Marcher rights and privileges that they exercised there, turned their lordships into a solid territorial bloc which resembled a kingdom in miniature. This, of course, was in complete contrast to the widely scattered nature of their English estates. The successful consolidation of personal and military control, however, only represented the initial stage in the administrative reorganisation of the Clares' Welsh bloc. With the transition from military overlordship to effective political control now complete, a comprehensive administrative system could be introduced to exploit the lordships' resources to the seigneur's best advantage.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS

For the purposes of administration, the Clares' estates in the March were divided into two distinct units of unequal size.[43] The largest of these units encompassed the great lordship of Glamorgan, the dependent lordship of Gwynllŵg, and, after 1269, the lordship of Caerleon. In contrast, the second of these administrative units consisted solely of the small lordship of Usk which seems to have been maintained as a largely separate entity within the Clare bloc. The lordship of Glamorgan would appear to have been administered as a shire from the time of the original conquest of the area under Robert fitz Hamo, as a charter of 1102 includes amongst its witnesses the 'Sheriff of Cardiff'.[44] The first reference to a comitatus of Glamorgan dates from the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, by which time it becomes increasingly clear that the office of sheriff had become firmly established, and that the incumbent had also assumed the functions usually performed by a 'seneschal', or steward, who never appears as a separate officer in Glamorgan.[45] As Gwynllŵg

represented a dependent sub-lordship of Glamorgan, the sheriff of Glamorgan also exercised authority there. Indeed, a writ issued by Robert of Gloucester during the first half of the twelfth century confirms that the borough of Newport was jurisdictionally subordinate to the sheriff of Glamorgan.[46] The office of sheriff was maintained by the Clares after 1217, but with the acquisition of Caerleon in 1269 the jurisdiction of the office was extended yet further to include Earl Gilbert's new lordship. Caerleon had formerly been administered by a steward, but following the incorporation of the lordship into the Clares' Welsh holdings, many of his functions passed to the sheriff of Glamorgan, although the office of steward continued in a junior capacity.[47] As Michael Altschul has suggested, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon may have been technically separate entities, but in administrative and judicial matters they were firmly under the authority of the sheriff of Glamorgan.[48]

The sheriff of Glamorgan was the earl's chief administrative official in the lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon and he headed a complex judicial structure which extended to every level of life within the lordships. He presided over meetings of the curia comitatus, where he heard pleas and conducted other court business such as enrolling private charters and deeds.[49] His role extended further than the central court, however, as he would also hold regular tourns of manorial and commotal courts across the three lordships and supervise the work of the junior officers, such as bailiffs and beadles, who collected fees and fines and accounted for the local profits of justice directly to the earl's financial officers at Cardiff.[50] The administrative reorganisation of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon undertaken by Earl Richard and Earl Gilbert would appear to have instigated a notable development in the judicial system. While the sheriff remained the chief official, by the close of the thirteenth century the office of coroner had also been established.[51] In the later middle ages the coroner usurped much of the sheriff's authority in Glamorgan, but during the tenure of the Clares it remained a junior office. The coroner acted as a judicial assistant to the sheriff, making presentments and indictments before the sheriff and the curia comitatus, and holding major and minor pleas in the earl's name.[52] A chancery also seems to have come into existence at Cardiff during the thirteenth century, but beyond a few scattered references to a chancellor, very little is known.[53] It would appear likely, however, that the chancery of Glamorgan would have followed similar lines to those of other great Marcher lordships, such as Pembroke, of which more is known.[54] The chancellor would, therefore, have kept the seal of the lordship and issued writs in the lord's name respecting pleas held in the curia comitatus.[55] The chancellor of Glamorgan also appears to have acted as a controller, keeping duplicate rolls of charters and other business enacted in the courts.[56] The sheriff himself kept rolls of the pleas and property transactions, and it is possible that duplicates of these rolls were deposited with the chancellor and stored in the chancery.[57]

The assimilation of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon under Earl Gilbert the Red also had a marked effect upon their financial administration. For financial purposes, all three lordships were subject to a central receivership located at Cardiff.[58] As the Clares' chief financial officer in Wales, the receiver at Cardiff assumed responsibility for the finances of the Clares' entire Welsh bloc.[59] A

network of local officials, including reeves and beadles, were responsible for the individual component parts of the lordships such as boroughs, manors, forests and Welshries, and they then accounted directly to the receiver at Cardiff. The receiver himself would also venture out around the lordships to check the accounts kept by the local officials, and to consider any appeals concerning outstanding debts.[60] Although it was specifically intended to be the centre of the financial exploitation of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon, the fact that the Cardiff receivership also handled the bulk of the revenues of the lordship of Usk between 1289 and 1293 indicates that it may also have acted as the central clearing house for all the revenues of the Clares' Marcher holdings.[61] The desire to improve the effectiveness of financial lordship on the part of the Clares, however, saw the Cardiff receivership replaced by an exchequer, under the control of a treasurer, as the thirteenth century drew to a close. Although the first surviving reference to an exchequer dates from 1318,[62] the office of treasurer is mentioned as early as 1296-7.[63] In all the surviving accounts for the various estates in Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg and Caerleon in the early fourteenth century, the local officials accounted directly to the treasurer while the old office of receiver is conspicuous by its absence.[64] The transformation of the financial administration from receivership to exchequer would therefore seem to have been initiated by Countess Joan soon after the death of Earl Gilbert. The motivation behind the change was probably provided by the methods used by the crown in the newly won principality of Wales. Having witnessed the effectiveness of royal administration there, it would have made eminent sense to introduce elements of it into the great Marcher lordships such as Glamorgan in order to increase control over the financial exploitation of estates.[65] Unfortunately, because none of the original exchequer documents from the Clare period have survived, very little can be said about the precise organisation of the office. The treasurer himself must have adopted the existing functions of the receiver, but presumably recorded the financial transactions made in the three lordships in much more elaborate series of rolls.[66] As with the receiver before him, however, the treasurer was not a totally autonomous official. The accounts of the three lordships were liable to be checked by auditors from the central household, while the treasurer himself was ultimately responsible for the safe delivery of the money from the three lordships to the earl's central wardrobe in England. The central wardrobe was controlled by a 'wardrober', or receiver general, who was responsible for the financial affairs of all the earl's estates.[67]

The administration of the lordship of Usk was far less elaborate in its organisation than the system which had developed in the rest of the Clares' Marcher bloc. It also maintained a semi-autonomous position from the other three lordships, aided to no small extent by the fact that much of the lordship was in the hands of the dowager Countess Maud and not the Red Earl between 1266 and 1289.[68] In nature, the pattern of the administration of Usk bore a close resemblance to that of an English bailiwick, something common to many of the smaller Marcher lordships during the thirteenth century.[69] Unlike Glamorgan, there was no sheriff or chancellor at Usk and their roles seem to have been performed by a 'seneschal', or steward. The independent status of Usk meant that unlike Caerleon, the seneschal remained the premier judicial figure in the lordship and was accountable only to the earl and his central household, and not the sheriff of Glamorgan. The seneschal of Usk held sessions of the curia comitatus, controlled the seal of the lordship, and supervised a staff of local

officials much the same as those in the other three lordships.[70] Unfortunately, the court rolls for Usk during this period have been lost and it is difficult, therefore, to be sure of the full range of the seneschal's duties beyond these basic functions. Presumably they included presiding at the manorial courts at fixed times of the year, as well as holding sessions of the commotal and forest courts.[71]

The difficulties posed to the administration of Usk lordship by its temporary division between the Red Earl and his mother are particularly apparent when considering the lordship's fiscal organisation. In common with Glamorgan, Usk's financial structure centred upon a receivership which was probably located at Usk castle during Earl Richard's lordship, although no evidence has survived to confirm this.[72] When control of much of the lordship passed to his widow, Maud, in dower, however, the receivership appears to have moved to Trelech, as an account for Trelech manor dated 1285 states that the bulk of the net profit was released to the 'receptor de Trillech'.[73] Following Maud's death in 1289, the entire lordship was once more in the hands of the Red Earl, and over the following seven years the fiscal organisation underwent a period of restructuring. Until 1296-7 a local receivership continued at Trelech, but the central receivership proper returned to Usk.[74] The receivership at Usk was not fully organised until 1296, however, and the receivership at Cardiff assumed partial responsibility for the fiscal affairs of the lordship. In an account dated 1292-3, receipts from the lordship totalled £355, but of this total some £275 was released to Cardiff rather than the earl's central wardrobe.[75] Only after 1296-7, when the local receivership at Trelech apparently ceased to operate, does the Usk receivership seem to be exercising full fiscal control over the lordship, releasing the total receipts to the central wardrobe.[76]

At Usk the receivers held office for only one year at a time, although several held the post more than once.[77] The fact that a number of the receivers had also served as reeves of the borough of Usk suggests that they were drawn from the burgesses.[78] This, in itself, demonstrates, the high regard in which the burgesses of towns were held; not only did the boroughs contribute to the financial vitality of the lordships, but they also produced men of the calibre required to hold important posts in the central administration. The duties of the Usk receiver were similar to his counterpart in Glamorgan but, perhaps due to the compact nature of the lordship, he collected the bulk of money rents from the manors in place of the reeve and bailiff.[79] Payments were collected by the receiver from the borough and manor of Usk, the borough and manor of Trelech, the manors of Llantrissent, Tregrug, Troy, and Llangwm, the bedelries of Usk and Trelech, and the forests of Wenlock, Trelech, Pelthenny and 'Coytkenor'.[80] During the tenure of Ralph de Monthermer and Countess Joan, fiscal control of Usk lordship was fully consolidated and the various components of the lordship made fully accountable to the central receivership at Usk castle. Unlike in Glamorgan, however, the office was not replaced with an exchequer, primarily, one would imagine, because the compact nature of Usk lordship meant that the existing structure was perfectly adequate.

The administrative reorganisation of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk undertaken by the Clare earls of Gloucester in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries represented a watershed in the development of those lordships. From a loose confederation of demesne lands, subinfeudated fiefs and virtually independent native commotes, the Clares had succeeded in creating a strong, centralised bloc of lordships. The nature of the March in general was changing significantly in the second half of the thirteenth century as the Marcher lords strove to convert military domination into effective and, hopefully, profitable lordship. Nowhere was this more true than in the Clares' bloc of lordships in the southern March. As has been seen,[81] the Clare family increasingly regarded their Marcher lordships as the most important of their estates and the centre of their military and political power. Thus effective administration was essential. With this administrative structure effectively put in place, the hitherto largely unexploited potential of the lordships could be realised. Among the most important units of the lordships were the towns, and as we have seen these played a central role in this new administrative order. The challenge which now faces us is to explore the nature and development of these urban centres under Clare lordship in order to both understand their individual roles and their wider functions in the lordships as a whole.

Notes

1. Davies, R.R. (1978) Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282 - 1400, p. 86.
2. See above, Chapter two. pp. 49–50.
3. Ibid. passim.
4. Davies, R.R. (1978) p. 87.
5. Ibid. p. 87
6. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent, II, no. 615
7. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, V, no. 538; Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 88.
8. Davies, R.R. (1978). loc. cit.
9. Altschul, M. 'Glamorgan and Morgannwg under the rule of the de Clare family', in Pugh, T.B. (ed.) (1971) Glamorgan County History, Vol. III. p. 68.
10. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae, II. no. 651.
11. See above, chapter two, passim.
12. Davies, R.R. (1978). loc. cit.
13. Ibid.
14. See above, chapter two. p. 44.
15. Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 89. ; see above, chapter two. p. 53.
16. Ibid.
17. Griffiths, R.A. (1994). Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales, pp. 341–42.
18. Ibid.
19. Davies, R.R. (1987). The Age of Conquest, p. 282.
20. Altschul, M. (1965) A Baronial Family in England : The Clares 1217 – 1314, p. 243.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid. p. 244.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ward, J.C. The Estates of the Clare Family, 1066 – 1314, p. 241.
27. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae, II. 561–2.
28. See above, chapter two, pp. 42–4.
29. Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 88.
30. Griffiths, R.A. (1994). p. 342.
31. Ibid.
32. Altschul (1965). p. 245.

33. Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 90. The only prominent area of Welsh opposition was in the bedelries or Welshries, of Edlegan and Llefenydd in Caerleon. These were held by Maredudd ap Gruffydd, lord of Machen, but were seized along with his other lands by the Red Earl in 1270.

34. Roger Mortimer, for example, was due money from Usk until 1280; PRO., Chancery Miscellanea. C47/9/20, m.1.

35. Ward, J.C. pp. 238 – 9. It is not clear, however, whether Little Tintern was granted to the Red Earl or his son.

36. Ibid. p. 240.

37. Throughout the surviving evidence the areas known in Glamorgan as 'Welshries' are referred to as 'bedelries', with a beadle instead of a rhingyll as their administrative officer.

38. Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 89.

39. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225 – 32. p. 427.

40. PRO., Ministers Accounts, SC6/1247/21.

41. In 1288, Trelech's figure of 378 burgages made it the second largest town in Wales after Cardiff.

42. Davies, R.R. (1978). p. 96.

43. Altschul, M. (1965). p. 262.

44. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910). Cartae. I. no. 38. He is referred to as 'Vicecomes de Kardiff' which can, in fact, be taken to mean sheriff of Glamorgan as the terms 'Cardiff' and 'Glamorgan' were both used in this period in reference to the lordship as a whole.

45. Ibid. I. 57 ; Hart, W.H. (ed.) Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri, Gloucestriae (Rolls Series, XXXIII. 1863 – 7). Vol. I. p. 347 ; Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973) Earldom of Gloucester Charters, nos. 49, 162, 173 ; While there are some references to a 'senscallus' and 'dapifer' they are used to mean the sheriff, or else refer to the seneschal of Gloucester.

46. Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973). no. 162.

47. Ward, J.C. pp. 255 – 6. This fact was borne out a little later when, in 1313, Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert ordered his sheriff of Glamorgan, Robert de Grendon, to conduct an enquiry with the aid of jurors from his bailiwicks of Caerleon and Gwynllŵg; see Hart, W.H. (ed.) (1863 – 7). III. p. 275

48. Altschul, M. (1965). p. 262.

49. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910). Cartae, II. 360, 547.

50. Unlike in the English shires, the sheriff did not directly collect the revenues from the courts himself ; see Altschul (1965). p. 263 ; Hart, W.H. (ed.) (1863 – 7). III. p. 275 ; Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910). Cartae. III. 839, 847.

51. The first direct reference to a coroner dates from 1299 and a case heard before Countess Joan and Ralph de Monthermer ; Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae, III. 823, 911, 912.

52. Altschul (1965). pp. 264 – 5.

53. Chancellors of Glamorgan mentioned by name include Robert de Everaux (1247), Henry de Llancarfan (1307), and Master Richard de Clare, a cousin of Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert (1313). Woodcock, A.M. (ed.) Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury (Camden Society), 3rd series, Vol. LXXXVIII, (1956). p. 161.

54. Otway-Ruthven, J. 'The Constitutional Position of the Great Lordships of South Wales'. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, Vol. VIII (1958). pp. 7 – 8.

55. Altschul (1971). p. 67.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid. p. 65.

59. Unfortunately, none of the original receivers accounts have survived for the Clare period, but we can assume that the functions of the Cardiff receivership would have been similar to those of Usk and the English bailiwicks. He was undoubtedly responsible for Gwynllŵg and Caerleon as well as Glamorgan ; PRO., Ministers Accounts SC6/922/13 (Edelegan bedelry, 1284 – 5) ; SC6/920/14 (Caerleon bedelry, 1292 – 3) ; SC6/920/13 (Caerleon manor, 1292 – 3) all account to the receiver at Cardiff.

60. Rees, W. (1924) South Wales and the March, 1284 – 1425, p. 85. On occasion, relaxation of rent might have been necessary due to unforseen circumstances such as flood or the death of a tenant. In such cases, the receiver could cancel the debt or allow it to stand over until a fuller enquiry could be made.

61. See below for a discussion of financial administration in Usk lordship.

62. PRO., Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Deeds (Series A) E40/4878.

63. PRO., Ministers Accounts, SC6/927/2. This is an account from Usk lordship which records a payment to Roger Walcote, the 'thesauriarius of Kaerdif'.

64. For example, PRO., SC6/920/18 (borough of Caerleon) ; SC6/922/14, 18 (bedelries of Edelegan and Llefenydd) ; SC6/1202/5 (borough of Neath).

65. Altschul (1965). p. 266.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid. pp. 233 – 4 ; Rees, W. (1924). p. 85.

68. See above, chapter two, pp. 48, 55.

69. Altschul (1965). p. 258.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid. p. 259.

73. PRO., SC6/923/20 ; the receiver was a certain Henry Gretham.

74. Altschul (1965)

75. PRO., SC6/926/31.

76. Altschul (1965). p. 259.

77. Ward, J.C. p. 258.

78. Ibid.

79. Altschul (1965). p. 260.

80. Ward, J.C. loc. cit.

81. See above, chapter two, passim.

PART TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN CENTRES, 1217-1314

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONSOLIDATION OF EXISTING URBAN CENTRES, 1217-1314

Upon the inheritance of their vast Welsh estates during the thirteenth century, the Clare earls of Gloucester faced a situation where significant urban development had already been encouraged by previous seigneurs. Representing what we might term the 'pioneer' stage of urbanisation, and closely mirroring developments in the March as a whole, this process had witnessed the development of towns from small civilian appendages to the castles into fully fledged boroughs with an ever developing commercial and administrative role. In practical terms this meant the establishment and growth of Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Usk and Caerleon into six towns of varying size and importance.[1] Despite these differing levels of development, however, all of these towns shared a common feature which had been identified from the earliest days of foundation. Each possessed an importance in economic terms that was out of all proportion to its physical size, because the society of medieval Wales and the March was underdeveloped in urban terms and localised. The towns were, in pure form, the lubricators of trade and cash in every direction.[2]

The twelfth century had, in urban terms, been an age of foundation and definition; the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries represented a new stage in the process of urbanisation in the March. Across western Europe the period was one of marked economic expansion and population growth which ushered in an age of conspicuous urban development. Indeed, the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries can be regarded as the zenith of urbanisation in medieval Wales and the March. Consequently, if this study is to consider successfully the role played by the Clares in the evolution of their Welsh towns, careful consideration must be given to the patterns of development taken by the aforementioned six towns during the period when they were in Clare hands. In this chapter, therefore, an analysis will be made of these patterns of development, concentrating upon a number of key areas including topographical factors, trade, industry and commerce, and the expansion of religious influences within the towns. From this analysis, a clear picture should emerge of the level of expansion and development achieved by the six towns during this key period.

TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNS

Central to any discussion of medieval urban development is an awareness of the evolution of the topography of a settlement, and this is certainly true of the Clares' established towns in the southern March. When discussing topography, attention focuses upon both natural and constructed features, including boundaries (in the form of rivers, streams and town defences), identifiable zones of land use both inside and outside the town, and major constructions with a specific purpose such as castles, bridges, mills, marketplaces and quays.[3] Clearly, the fact that each of the six towns of concern here was well established as an urban centre prior to its inheritance by the Clares means that many of these features were already in place.[4] However, while it is important to appreciate that many of the twelfth century features would have continued throughout the medieval period, many were adapted or replaced

while a whole series of new features might also be initiated. The challenge is to identify how the topography of the towns evolved during the period of Clare lordship.

i. DEFENCES

Perhaps the most conspicuous development which occurred in a number of the Clares' six established towns in Wales was the remodelling of the defences. While obviously intended to protect a settlement in the event of an attack, the line and nature of a town's defences also offer important clues to its shape, extent and growth rate.[5] In addition to its primary defensive role, the line of a town's defences also served as a boundary and thus not only provided an indication of the town limits but also the size, or at least the intended size, of the settlement.[6] If town defences were extended, this development often reflected a growth in population and a subsequent need for more space. Aside from the actual line of a town's defences, significant insight into urban expansion can also be obtained from the physical construction of the defences themselves. During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries it became increasingly common to replace the early defences, which usually took the form of a ditch, earthen bank and wooden palisade, with a circuit of stone walls. Such developments did not necessarily see the erection of the stone wall upon exactly the same line as the original earthen defences, although this did occur; but instead it often extended the line of defences and incorporated a larger area into the enclosure.[7] More than extending a town's limits, however, the construction of stone walls offers evidence for the status of a medieval borough as the supplanting of earthen defences by stone circuits seems to have gone further than the pure strengthening of a town's ability to defend itself. Indeed, the earlier methods of town defence often represented a formidable barrier and were regarded as sufficient by Edward I to protect Flint and Rhuddlan in the late thirteenth century.[8] Other Edwardian towns in the principality, Caernarfon and Conwy for example, were defended by stone walls, however, and it may be the case that a number of Marcher towns followed a similar pattern in adopting stone as a dominant building material. This is not to suggest that Marcher towns were actively copying the royal example, although some element of this probably did exist, but rather that the approach taken towards town defences in the later thirteenth century merely reflected developments in other areas of military architecture such as with castles, where stone had become the dominant building material. The construction of a full circuit of stone walls would have been prohibitively expensive for the majority of Welsh towns, their small size and poor hinterlands meaning that the cost could hardly have been reclaimed from the profits of murage. This would suggest that stone walls would have been limited either to particularly important and wealthy towns, or to those acutely vulnerable to attack. The prohibitive cost of walls also led them to become symbolic, indicating the status of the lord or the burgesses, depending on who instigated their construction, and suggesting prosperity, urban independence and civic pride.[9] Whether motivated by defensive considerations, a conscious desire to demonstrate prestige, or a combination of these factors, the development of a circuit of stone walls was one of the most striking developments in Welsh towns in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

This general pattern of the evolution of urban defences in medieval Wales occurred in two of the boroughs in question during the Clares' period of tenure, at the 'caput' of Cardiff and at the small

westerly town of Neath. When both towns came into the hands of Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare in 1217, the defences at each site consisted of the classic ditch, earthen bank and wooden palisade.[10] The precise nature and extent of these palisaded defences at Cardiff are unclear, and it is not possible to say with any conviction if they had already been extended to the familiar outline which survived to be shown on John Speed's map of 1610.[11] In a recent study of medieval towns, John Schofield and Alan Vince have suggested that the palisaded defences referred to in a Pipe Roll of 1184-85 probably only included the arc of streets in the north of the town (see figure eleven).[12] From the existing evidence from Cardiff for the period immediately after Clare tenure, this would seem a sensible conclusion to draw, with the town of 1217 consisting of a core settlement under the southern defences of the castle with some suburban development outside the east and south gates.[13]

There is no surviving evidence of any improvements made to these existing defences by the Clares during the first half century of their tenure as lords of Glamorgan. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, however, it would appear that the palisaded defences were replaced by a new circuit of stone walls punctuated by four gates and enclosing land to the south hitherto undefended (see figure twelve).[14] Due to an absence of building records, it is impossible to give an accurate date for their construction, but they were certainly in existence by 1314 when the Inquisition Post Mortem of Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert described Cardiff as a "market town enclosed by a wall".[15] Conceivably, the walls were erected in the time of Gilbert ' the Red Earl' (1263-95), or possibly during the tenure of his widow, Countess Joan, as a reaction to the revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd in1294-5.[16] Representing a major work of construction which would have required a great deal of time, money and effort, the circuit would probably have taken a number of years to complete.

The course of the medieval stone walls at Cardiff has received exhaustive attention from generations of historians and archaeologists and thus will not be considered in great detail here.[17] Captured in their essentially medieval state by Speed in 1610 and by the documentary accounts of Leland c.1536 and Merrick c.1580, the walls followed a complete circuit which enclosed the borough on all four sides (see figure twelve). As can be seen from this plan, the town was entered by means of four main gates located at the cardinal points of the compass, the East and West Gates allowing access for the 'Port Way', the Roman road which ran east to west along the coastal lowlands of south Wales from Gloucestershire. From the North Gate, a further Roman road led north towards Caerphilly, while the South Gate lay at the bottom of St Mary Street and led to the moors to the south of the borough.[18] On the western side of the town, meanwhile, the wall was punctuated by two subsidiary gates, the Golate (or more correctly the 'Golyate' or Gullygate') and Blount's Gate. Rather than affording land-borne traffic access to the town, both of these gates were designed to provide access to the two quays located on the river bank, and which will be discussed later.[19]

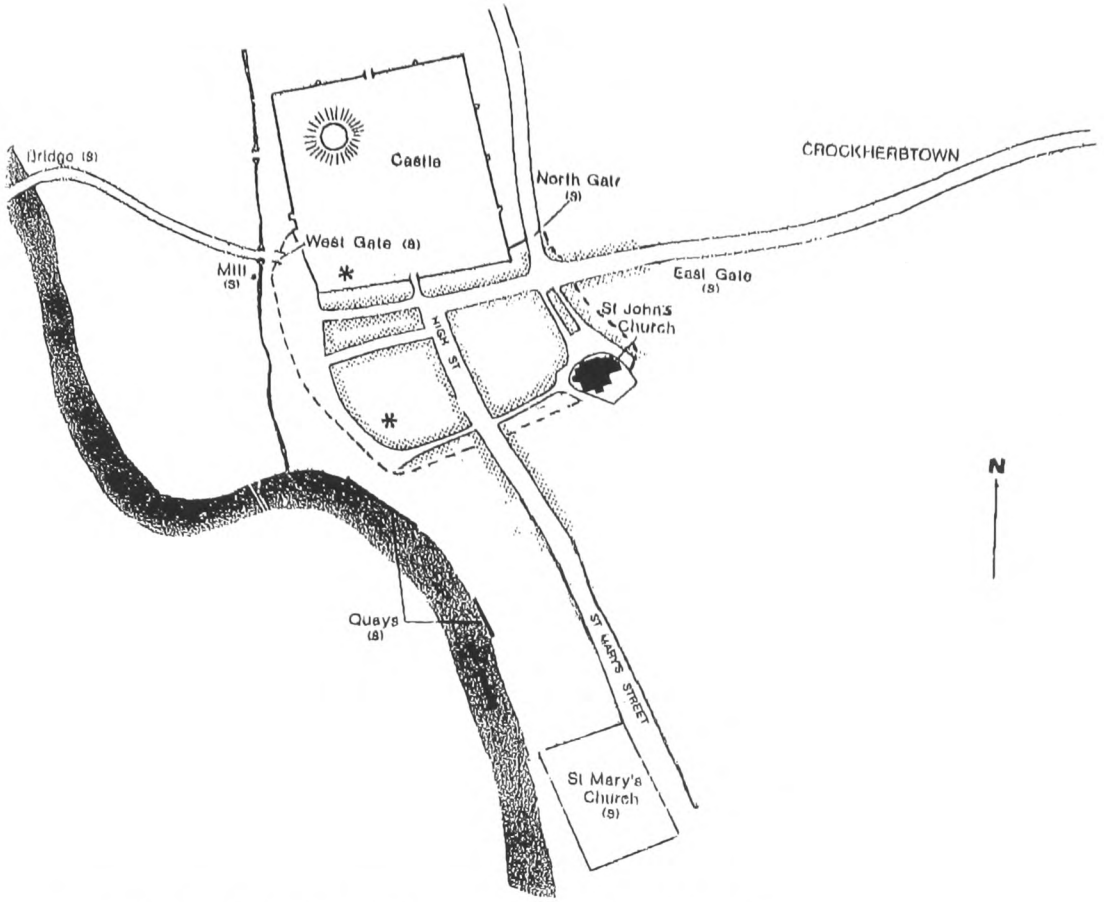


FIGURE ELEVEN : CARDIFF C.1217 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

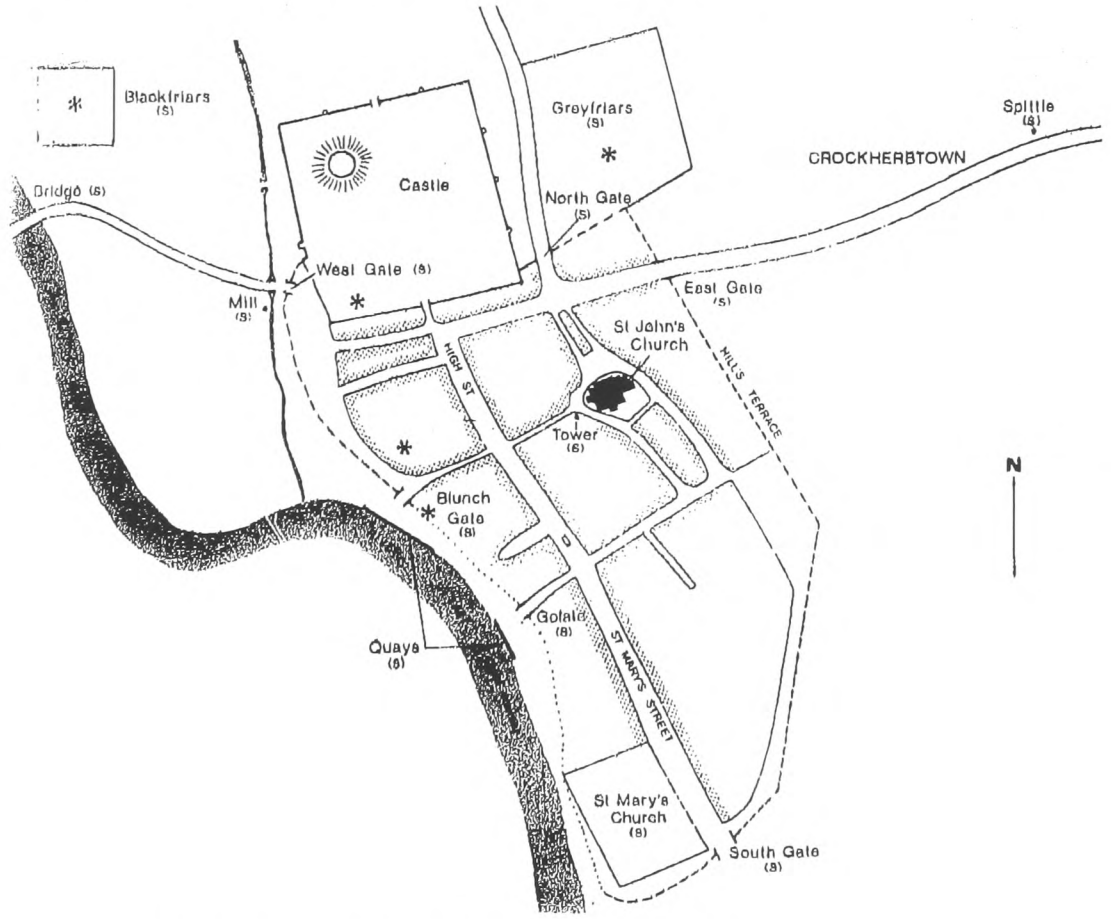


FIGURE TWELVE : CARDIFF c.1314 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

The second of the six towns in question to make the transition from palisaded defences to a circuit of walls was Neath. Unlike at Cardiff, however, the evidence for medieval defences is much weaker at Neath, as the only contemporary written evidence for defences of any kind is a single vague reference dating from 1130 to earthen banks.[20] Indeed, this has led some to question whether Neath was actually fortified at all during the medieval period, particularly as no traces of a town ditch or rampart have survived.[21] However, a recent re-examination of the question by Jack Spurgeon for the R.C.A.H.M.W suggests that

> "certain authorities have been needlessly over cautious in their reluctance to accept that Neath was ever a fortified borough ...[their] scepticism ignores the turbulent history of this most exposed borough in Glamorgan, and demeans the common sense of the burgesses".[22]

In fact, Spurgeon claims, there were palisaded defences and these, in turn, were replaced by stone walls during the tenure of Earl Richard fitz Gilbert at the same time as Neath castle was rebuilt in stone; that is, after his accession in 1243 and before the attack by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1258.[23]

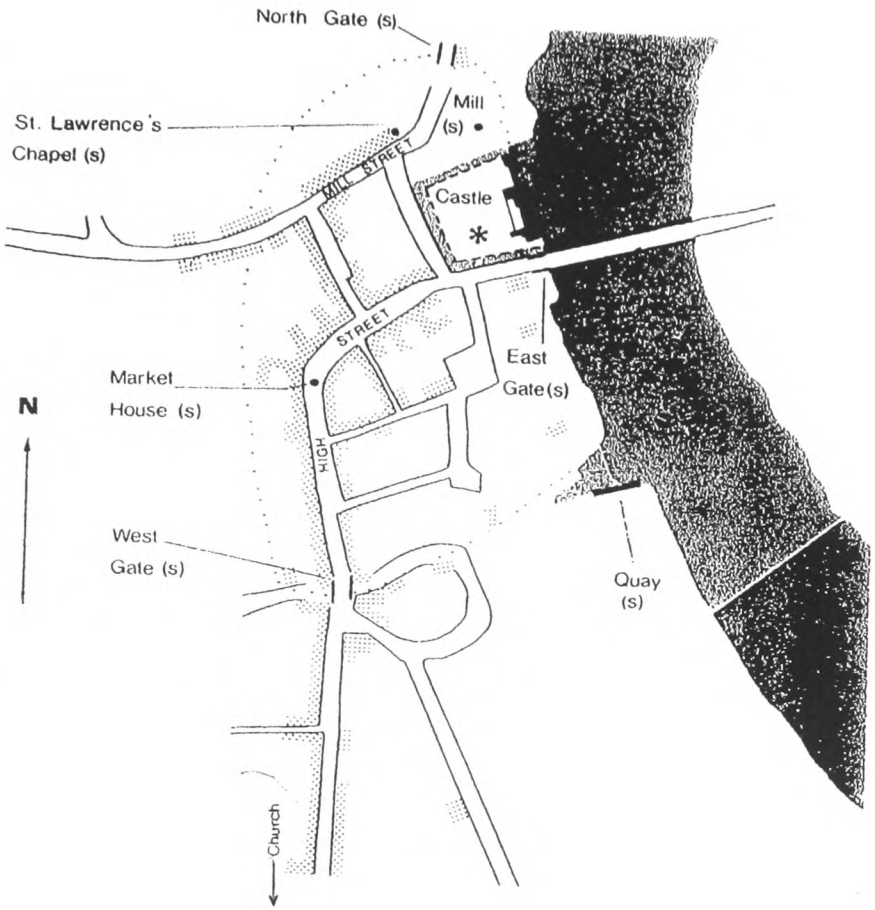
Whether the town walls at Neath were complete at this early date is debatable. Even if they were, they proved insufficient against Llywelyn's attack because the town was burnt.[24] That work had started on masonry defences at some point during the mid-thirteenth century is suggested by excavations undertaken in front of the castle gatehouse during 1962-63.[25] Originally thought to date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, remains unearthed include a salient tower and postern gate which date from the mid thirteenth century and which had been incorporated into the later structure. Adjoining the south tower of the gatehouse was a section of the town wall dating from the same period as the salient tower and postern gate.[26] Presumably, this section of wall represents the same defences depicted in a series of eighteenth and nineteenth century views of the castle.[27] These pictorial representations are supported by an observation by W. Weston Young in the early 1830 s which states that "The town gate....was standing about sixty years ago....[and that] the foundation of the south east side, together with part of the old town wall, is still remaining".[28] The exact location of this gatehouse is uncertain, but it may have stood at the point where the main thoroughfare of the town, Water Street/Old Market Street, crossed Wind Street, facing south east towards Briton Ferry. This location will become clearer in the later discussion of street plans.[29] Consequently, in all likelihood, this gate would have constituted the main entrance to the town, leading towards the 'Port Way' at Briton Ferry and it may well represent the 'great gate of the bailiwick' referred to in a Minister's Account of 1315-16.[30] Unfortunately, the paucity of evidence for the town defences prevents any description of their actual course. Nevertheless, the little evidence which does exist strongly suggests that Neath, like Cardiff, may have possessed a circuit of walls by the end of the Clare period of tenure.

The motivation behind the construction of stone walls at Cardiff and Neath during the period of Clare lordship is unclear. No evidence has survived in the form of murage grants or records of construction for either town to allow a judgement to be made as to whether the instigators were the Clares themselves or the burgesses. As the caput of the Clare lands and probably the largest town in Wales, the reasons for masonry defences at Cardiff are fairly obvious, providing added security and prestige to an urban community which, perhaps alone amongst the six towns in question here, could

have afforded the expense. At Neath, however, the situation was rather different. As will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, Neath constituted a small, economically underdeveloped urban centre which is unlikely to have been of sufficient size and wealth to have undertaken such a project. This would suggest that a seignorial desire to protect this vulnerable borough may have provided the motivation for the construction of stone defences. The role of the lord in relation to that of the burgesses in the overall development of urban centres in the Clares Welsh lordships is a central theme of this thesis and will be returned to later in the study.

The situation at Cardiff and Neath in terms of the development of town defences was, however, quite different from that experienced in the other four towns, where little discernible development occurred during the period of Clare tenure. As was discussed in chapter one, Kenfig, Newport, Caerleon and Usk had each developed substantial defences by the time they passed into Clare hands.[31] At Newport, Kenfig, and Usk these, it will be remembered, consisted of the typical palisaded earthworks seen at Cardiff and Neath during the twelfth century. Only at Caerleon was the situation different, for here the surviving Roman defences appear to have been supplemented with medieval earthworks.[32]

The palisaded defences witnessed at Newport during the twelfth century would generally appear to have remained largely unchanged throughout the Middle Ages. The lack of any conclusive evidence, either documentary or archaeological, for stone walls, combined with the highly linear layout of the medieval borough, would seem to argue against such developments (see figure thirteen).[33] This view is given added weight by the remarks of John Leland who visited the town during the late 1530 s. In his 'Itinerary' he noted that he could not say "whyther ye were waulled or no".[34] All traces had apparently disappeared by the mid sixteenth century, and such a total absence of remains at such an early date would have been extremely unlikely if the borough was walled in stone.[35] While palisaded defences remained at Newport throughout the medieval period, it appears likely that the gates of the town were rebuilt in stone at some point, to provide additional strength at the most vulnerable points of the defences.[36] Three gates are known to have stood, and were noted by Leland; the East Gate by the bridge, the North Gate above the castle, and the West Gate at the junction of Commercial Street and Stow Hill (see figure thirteen).[37] The East Gate survived until its removal in 1799 and apparently constituted a fourteenth-century structure bearing the Stafford Arms.[38] The lack of any contemporary evidence precludes an attempt to date the construction of Newport's gates in stone with any accuracy. Was such a policy initiated during the period of Stafford lordship (1347-1521), or did it simply represent a rebuilding of earlier masonry gates, either twelfth or thirteenth century in origin? Unless further information is provided by future excavation on the sites of the gates, this question is unlikely to be answered. What does appear clear, however, is that the development of defensive provisions at Newport during the Clare period was negligible.



Key

⁞⁞⁞	Built-up areas	—	Town defences, extant
*	Excavates sites	----	", course of
(s)	Site of lost features	....	", conjectural course
†	market-place		

FIGURE THIRTEEN : NEWPORT c.1314 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

While the possibility of some small scale defensive development exists at Newport during the period in question, the same can not be said of the remaining three towns, namely Kenfig, Usk and Caerleon. The need for strong defences at Kenfig would seem obvious when one recalls the political situation which existed in northern and western Glamorgan throughout the period of Clare lordship.[39] Suffering five serious hostile attacks in the century of Clare tenure, it might be reasonable to expect Kenfig to have developed stone defences in the same way that Neath appears to have done.[40] This does not seem to have been the case, however, as the only defensive improvements undertaken centred upon the castle, which saw stone defences replace the palisaded rampart.[41] In any event, the rebuilt castle still proved insufficient as it fell, along with the town, to Morgan ap Maredudd in 1294-5.[42] Throughout the Clare period, therefore, the defences at Kenfig did not alter, as far as can be deduced from the surviving evidence, from their twelfth century state. The borough occupied an enclosure of roughly quadrangular form, protected by a strong rampart and ditch, which had a total area of some 8.25 acres (or 3.4 m ha) and lay to the south of the castle (see figure fourteen).[43] Of the location and number of town gates, nothing is known as no visible or recorded evidence has survived, other than a reference to "the gate of the town" in a charter to Ewenny Priory granted by Earl Robert of Gloucester between 1140 and 1147.[44] Unfortunately, due to the amount of sand which has covered the site of the borough, it is unlikely that the position of the gates, or the nature of their construction, will ever be revealed. The lack of stone defences during this period is extremely puzzling when one considers the vulnerability of the borough to Welsh attack. Neath, which was equally vulnerable, had developed stone defences but Kenfig, as will be discussed later in this chapter, was a larger and potentially more profitable town which would seem to have had good cause for masonry building, either on the part of the lord or the burgesses. That it did not receive it undoubtedly hindered its development during this period. With stronger defences the town of Kenfig might not have sustained such frequent devastation at the hands of the Welsh; devastation which meant that the town had to effectively be rebuilt several times.

The final pair of towns inherited by the Clares during the thirteenth century, Usk and Caerleon, also appear to have experienced little in the way of defensive development during the period in which they were in the family's hands. As was seen in chapter one of this study, by the time Usk passed to Earl Richard in 1245, the defences had already reached their full medieval extent, enclosing an area sufficient to incorporate anticipated future growth.[45] During the seventy years in which Usk comprised a part of the Clares' Welsh inheritance, defensive developments were apparently limited to the castle.[46] While stone replaced timber palisaded defences at the castle, however, there is no indication of similar improvement of the borough defences. Indeed, the nature of the palisaded circuit at Usk appears to have been less purely defensive than in the Glamorgan boroughs, suggesting that the purpose of the enclosure was as much to do with physical demarkation necessary to define the town's socio-political privileges as to provide a strong defensive line.[47] As much as anything, this may have been due to a belief that the military situation in Usk lordship was more stable than that in Glamorgan.

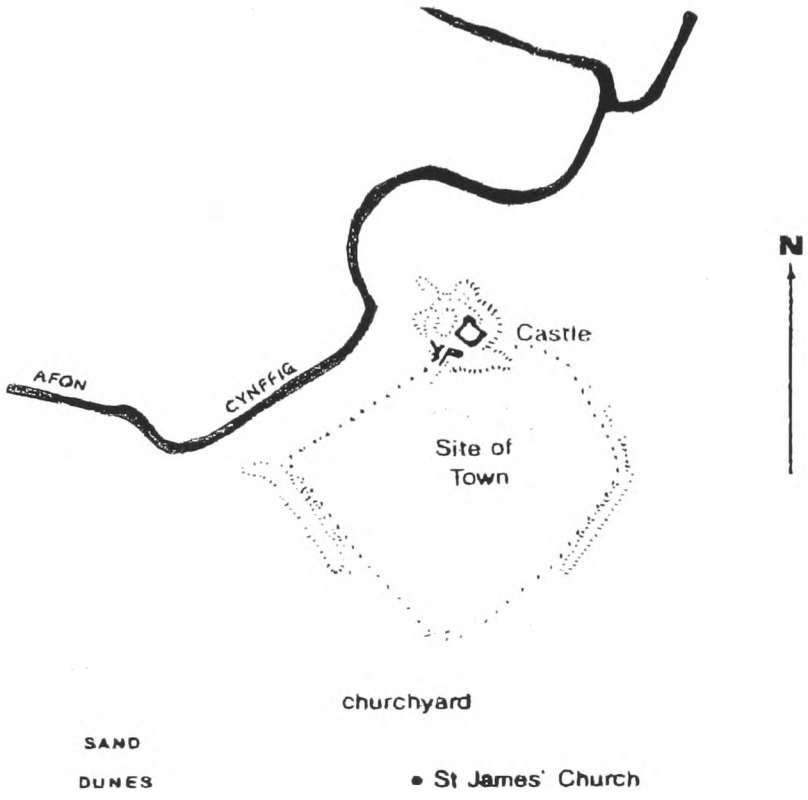


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FIGURE FOURTEEN : KENFIG c.1314 (AFTER SPURGEON, FORTHCOMING)

If this was the case, the attacks upon the town by de Montfort in 1265 and by the Welsh during the revolt of 1294-5 must have come as a sobering reminder of the omnipresent potential for conflict during the period.[48]

At Caerleon, too, the late date of acquisition in comparison with the Glamorgan boroughs appears to suggest that much of the development of the town's defences was complete by the time it passed into Clare hands in 1268-69.[49] As has been seen, the defences of Caerleon were shaped by earlier developments on the site, the Roman walls having been supplemented by medieval earthen banks.[50] The medieval town appears to have been entered by four gates, determined by the location of the original Roman gates.[51] Reference is made to some of these gates in a number of seventeenth-century documents. A Bargain of Sale dated 1622 concerning a house near the Hanbury Arms describes "the highway leading from the gate or Courte House of the town...", while a survey of 1617 refers to "the gate called Clockhouse".[52] Whether the Court House Gate and Clockhouse Gate are separate entities or the same building is unclear, but geographical pointers given in the documents suggest the latter.[53] Unfortunately, no evidence survives to allow a date to be given to the construction of this gate, which probably formed the main entrance to the town under the shadow of the castle defences. In the form described, however, it is probably later than the Clare period, making it impossible to tell if Caerleon, like Newport, possessed stone gates in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Of the developments which occurred in the defensive provisions of Caerleon between 1269 and 1314, therefore, very little can be said with any certainty due to the paucity of evidence. However, as chapter one discussed, the town was comprehensively destroyed during an attack by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1231.[54] Consequently, Caerleon was rebuilt by the time it entered Clare hands, precluding the need for any remodelling during the period of direct interest to this study.

ii. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL INFRASTRUCTURE

While the defences of a medieval town are perhaps the most obvious features of topographical development, to understand the way in which the six towns in question evolved during the period, careful consideration must also be given to the development of the internal topography and infrastructure. The major element of topography, the houses and streets, will be considered in a separate section in this chapter, such is their importance. They are not, however, the only topographical features worthy of consideration. Consequently, attention will focus here upon those major constructions and spaces in the urban landscape which represented specific activities, such as bridges, mills, quays, public buildings and market places. By contemplating the development of such features in the towns in question, their evolution as urban centres can be better understood. Of course, the six towns had already achieved a certain level of infrastructure development by the time they came into Clare hands, and this has been discussed in chapter one.[55] Indeed, a number of features which met the basic requirements of the inhabitants of an urban centre, such as mills, market places, bakehouses and brewing houses, had been developed in all six towns fairly soon after their foundation.[56] In addition to these basic requirements of urban life, the period prior to Clare tenure also appears to have witnessed a significant amount of development in the communications and trading links of the towns. At Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon and (possibly) Usk, some form of bridge existed to allow traffic to cross

the various rivers which ran close to these towns.[57] Marine communications were also important, both for military and commercial reasons, and Cardiff, Newport, and possibly Kenfig, Neath and Caerleon had developed facilities for loading and unloading vessels.[58] However, while a basic infrastructure was in place well before the Clare period, a lack of evidence from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries makes it difficult to identify the exact nature of such developments. The challenge which must be overcome, therefore, is to identify how such features were developed during Clare lordship. Such development can reasonably be expected to have occurred as the towns became more firmly established. The general economic expansion which took place in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was also a contributory factor. As a town evolved in size and importance, so it evolved more advanced features.

Of the six towns, it is perhaps Cardiff which demonstrates most clearly the development of topographical features from the basic infrastructure of the twelfth century to the more developed facilities which one might expect of a growing urban centre. As has been seen, a mill was one of the first requirements of a medieval town and from the twelfth century evidence it is clear that Cardiff had a mill from a early date.[59] By the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, however, there were two mills serving the town, located outside the western wall of the borough near the West Gate.[60] The mills were powered by a leat which ran from the western moat of the castle across the front of the West Gate, providing a further line of defence for the town (see figure twelve).[61]

It is likely that in twelfth-century Cardiff a bridge crossed the Taff to give access to the town from the west. This feature may have a fairly early date.[62] Little development of the bridge appears to have occurred during the Clare period, however, as unlike the town walls it does not appear to bave been rebuilt in stone. In all probability, with the expense already incurred in building the walls, the wooden bridge would have been considered sufficient.[63] Immediately in front of the West Gate stood a second small bridge which carried the road over the mill leat. Whether this was rebuilt in stone during the Clare period is unclear, although if undertaken, such work may have been contemporary with the construction of the walls. The present twentieth-century reconstruction follows fifteenth century lines, but J.P. Grant, who was responsible for its rebuilding, believed that the substructure was earlier.[64]

The centre of marketing in the borough was well defined by the time Cardiff passed into Clare hands, being located in all probability on High Street.[65] Little development of the market site occurred under the Clares, however, as there is no evidence of a Town or Market Hall on the site until 1338.[66] The trading which took place within the market would have been served by both road and sea, and it was during Clare tenure, according to surviving evidence, that quays were in place.[67] While the town quay (or quays) was probably a development of the twelfth century, it would have assumed even greater importance during the thirteenth century as the town developed into the chief port of the Clare lordships in south Wales during a period of great economic growth. By the close of the Clare period, it would seem that the town was served by two quays on the east bank of the River Taff. Their importance was demonstrated by the incorporation of Blount's Gate and the Golate into the circuit of walls, which were designed specifically to serve the main quay and the subsidiary quay respectively.[68]

Indeed, the River Taff emerges as a central feature of the town for, in addition to providing water for the mills and trading access to the sea, the surviving records from the Clare period indicate that it continued to support another long established feature, namely, a fishery. First noted in c.1102, when it was granted to Tewkesbury Abbey, at some time before (or during) the Clare period, control of the fishery seems to have returned to the lord of Glamorgan.[69] Whatever the circumstances of ownership, the fishery was progressively developed during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. By 1307 it consisted of "a certain fishery, as of nets, being in the water of the Taf which is worth by the year in all issues £20".[70] The fishery at Cardiff was, therefore, an important source of income to the Clares.

A similar picture of development to that seen at Cardiff can be seen to occur at Newport. As with Cardiff, the basic infrastructure at Newport was in place by 1217 and over the course of the following century it underwent a period of evolution rather than of revolution. A mill was in existence long before the town came into Clare hands; it was located to the north of the castle and was powered by a leat which formed part of the castle moat (see figure thirteen).[71] Unlike Cardiff, however, a single mill was deemed sufficient throughout the period, although it was clearly busy, for in 1262-3 it produced £19 16s 8d., over £7 more than the total burgage rent that year.[72] The marketplace at Newport also appears to have continued unchanged on the High Street between 1217 and 1314, and as at Cardiff there is nothing to suggest that it constituted anything other than a designated space in the town, with no evidence of a formal market hall.[73] As a centre for local trade, Newport would probably have been heavily reliant upon land-borne trade routes and consequently the Usk bridge would have been of enormous importance.[74] The bridge was destroyed by de Montfort in 1265, and no documents have survived to indicate its reconstruction, leaving some to question if it was rebuilt during the tenure of the Clares.[75] For such an important part of the town's infrastructure to have been left unrepaired at a time when Newport enjoyed a period of notable growth must, however, be considered unlikely.[76] Land-borne trade, while probably the most important part of Newport's role as a marketing centre, was complemented by a certain amount of maritime trade.[77] The borough quay was located well away from the town defences on the opposite bank of the town pill (see figure thirteen).[78] Little is known of its origins, but one might imagine some form of quay being in existence by the close of the twelfth century. Certainly, by 1233 its existence is suggested by the fact that ships from Cardiff and Newport scattered those of Bristol in a fight in the Bristol Channel.[79] A further similarity with Cardiff was the existence of a fishery in the River Usk which produced an unspecified, but probably small, income for the lord.[80]

The consolidation of earlier infrastructural developments seen at Newport is repeated in the Clares' smaller towns of Neath and Kenfig. Again, the basic infrastructure of both towns was in place well before their inheritance by the Clares in 1217. A mill existed at Kenfig as early as 1184, when it was destroyed in the Welsh attack upon the town, and although no such early reference to a mill exists for Neath, such a structure would have been a pre-requisite for urban development.[81] By the close of the Clare era, the milling facilities appear to have been expanded in both towns. Neath possessed two watermills by 1314, while Kenfig was served by one watermill and one windmill.[82] In the case of both towns, however, the precise location of the mills is unknown.

Neath and Kenfig developed as marketing centres from their foundation during the twelfth century and by the end of the Clare period were well established. At Neath, the market place was located in a broad street, Old Market Street, in common with the pattern seen in most early foundations such as Cardiff and Newport.[83] A similar arrangement may be envisaged at Kenfig, but due to the sand encroachment on the site it is not possible to identify any location. The market place at Neath appears to have undergone significant development during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and by 1311-12 a 'bothall' or boothall is mentioned in the town, suggesting that a market hall had been erected.[84] The boothall would seem to have been built by the seigneur, presumably Gilbert fitz Gilbert. A ministers account for 1311-12 records that the earl received 5s. payment for the hire of the hall, although it does not mention who hired it.[85] This development is unique to Neath amongst the six towns in question during the Clare period. Kenfig, like Cardiff, is known to have had a market hall during the period of Despenser lordship, but there is nothing to prove conclusively that it stood before 1314.[86]

The remainder of the internal infrastructure of Neath and Kenfig bore a number of similarities to those already seen at Cardiff and Newport. Land-borne trade appears to have been free to enter and leave Kenfig without having to cross the River Kenfig, since neither a bridge or a ferry is mentioned at any point in the town's life. At Neath, however, the situation was rather different. A ferryman was mentioned in 1262-3, suggesting that a ferry was in operation across the River Neath.[87] The link across the river was certainly important as a number of tenements were located on the opposite (western) bank from the town itself.[88] By 1307, however, a bridge is mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Countess Joan, while in 1312 the borough reeve recorded "12d. received from William Smith for one place next to the way which leads towards the bridge".[89] Presumably the bridge was built during the intervening years, either by Earl Gilbert or Countess Joan.

The importance of a river to a medieval town is amply demonstrated at Neath and Kenfig. As has been seen, the Rivers Neath and Kenfig provided facilities for watermills, and they also offered the potential for quays and fisheries. Both towns appear to have been a focus for both land-borne and transmarine trade. That shipping plied from these towns is clear from a number of references. At Neath creeks are mentioned in a ministers account dated 1316, which also makes it clear that there were landing facilities for ships near the castle.[90] It was not just the town that used the river for trading, however, as in 1235 license was granted to the abbot and monks of Neath Abbey for their ship, 'Le Hulc' to sail safely to England with merchandise to trade.[91] At Kenfig, too, similar development must have occurred with landing points on the river serving the military and commercial needs of the castle and town. Rice Merrick wrote in 1578 that Earl William of Gloucester "...had caused to be rebuilded a towne for Marchandize upon the Sea banks of Kynfege...", while an inspeximus of Thomas le Despenser in 1394 mentions "all merchandise... as well by land as by water".[92] The inference is that Kenfig was engaged in transmarine trade from the outset. At Neath, the River Neath also had a fishery and a weir, the latter lying to the south of the bridge.[93] The existence of the fishery and weir is noted throughout the period 1296-1314.[94] Rather surprisingly, however, no fishery appears to have existed at Kenfig during the middle ages.

Similarities of topography among the Clares' towns in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg are also demonstrated in the family's later acquisitions of Usk and Caerleon. As with borough defences, the late acquisition of these towns meant that much of the development had already occurred and thus little change is discernable during the Clare period.[95] A town mill and a marketing focus were well established in both towns and by 1314 this had been expanded so that Usk possessed three water mills and a fulling mill, while Caerleon was served by two mills.[96] The market place at Usk continued to be located in the area known today as Twyn Square (see figure fifteen), although it moved to the vicinity of New Market Street at some point in the sixteenth century.[97] Twyn Square gives the appearance of being a primary market place, a typical feature of a later foundation and in direct contrast to the broad streets seen in the Glamorgan boroughs.[98] Indeed, Caerleon's earlier foundation is reflected by the fact that the market there was held in the broad High Street (see figure sixteen).[99] Later evidence suggests that market halls stood in both towns during the later middle ages, but as no evidence has survived to date such buildings to the Clare period it may be assumed that they were developments of the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.[100]

Amongst the most prominent topographical features of both towns during this period were the town bridges. As was seen in chapter one, the bridge at Usk is not known before 1383, when money was bequeathed in a will for its repair.[101] The fact that it was in need of repair suggests that the structure was already of considerable age, but whether it was built during or prior to Clare control is unclear. It is interesting, however, to note that the Inquisition Post Mortem of the Red Earl mentions the existence of "the [ferry] boat of Brethelly" in the entry for Usk borough. Is it possible that, like Neath, Usk was served by a ferry until a bridge was built at some point between 1296 and 1383?[102] At Caerleon, it is certain that a bridge of some description was standing during the Clare period, however, as a number of surviving ministers' accounts record rents of assize "ultra pontem" (beyond the bridge).[103] Of its date or materials of construction nothing is known, though its position is probably that shown on Morrice's Plan of 1800 (see figure sixteen).[104]

The River Usk, upon which both towns lay, was no less important to their development than those which ran through the other four towns. While the river was rather too shallow to allow sea-going vessels to reach Usk, it was nevertheless plied by small, shallow-draught boats which probably played some part in the local trade which centred on Usk.[105] At Caerleon, meanwhile, the river was still deep enough to allow larger ships to reach it directly from the sea. No contemporary reference is made to a quay, but Morrice's plan clearly shows the 'Old Quay' on the west bank of the river (see figure sixteen). As the basic outline of Caerleon was little changed in 1800 from its medieval form, it may well be the case that the 'Old Quay' was the site of a quay which served Caerleon in the medieval period.[106] As with the other towns (apart from Kenfig), the River Usk had fisheries at both Caerleon and Usk during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At Caerleon they took the form of a fishery and weir, while Usk possessed a fishery alone.[107]

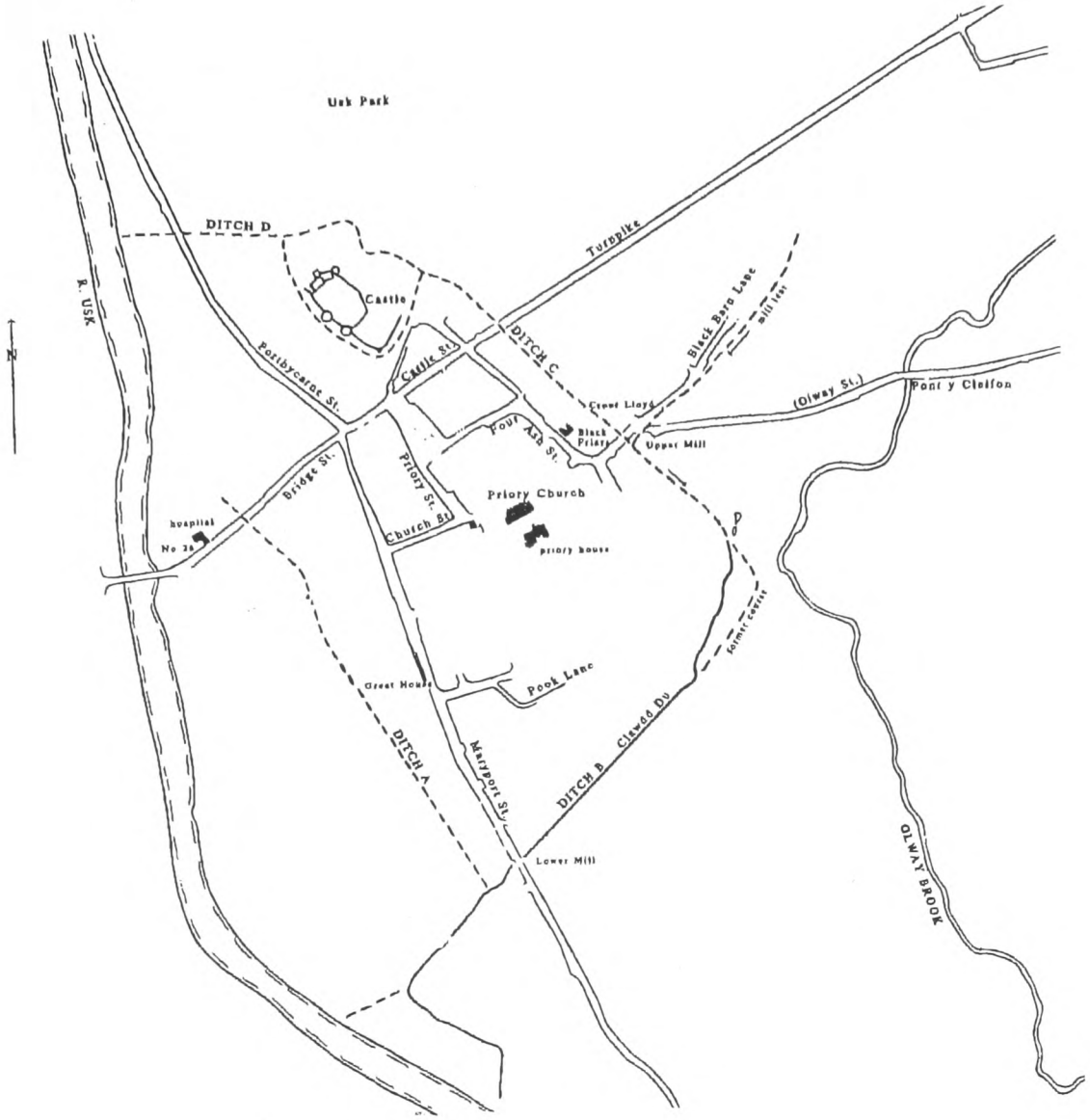


FIGURE FIFTEEN : USK (AFTER COURTNEY, 1994)

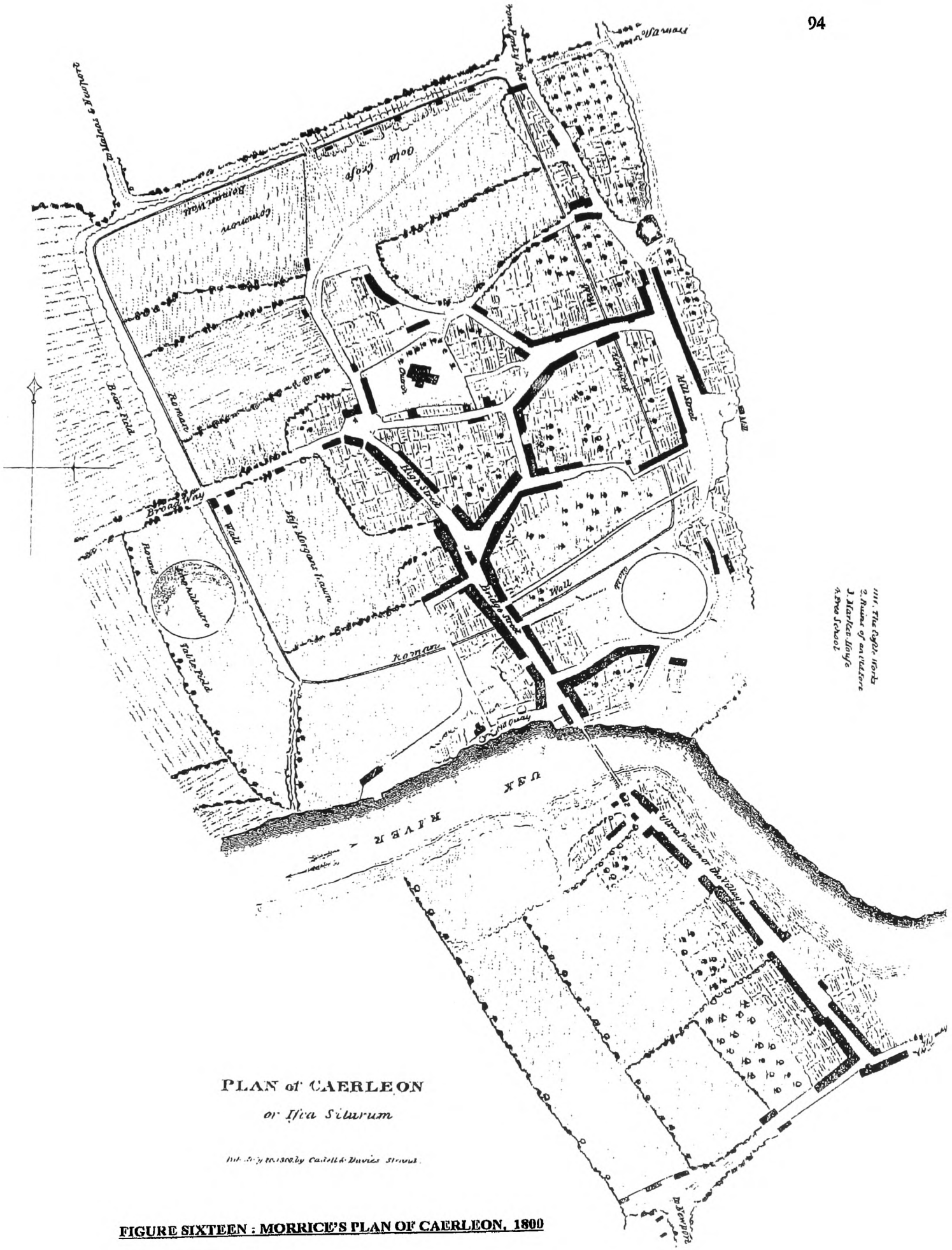


FIGURE SIXTEEN : MORRICE'S PLAN OF CAERLEON, 1800

The development of the infrastructure and topography of the six towns during Clare lordship can thus be seen to have been generally uniform in nature, with similarities in each, albeit with some exceptions such as the existence of the booth hall at Neath. The scant documentary evidence for the period makes definitive statements impossible, but the general pattern which emerges suggests that the Clare lordship was a period of evolution rather than of revolution. It was a time when the twelfth-century character of the towns was retained, yet also expanded and refined to suit their developing roles and expanding populations.

iii. HOUSES, STREETS AND SUBURBS

While the defences and major constructions within the urban landscape represent very important elements in the evolution of the towns, their topographical development cannot be properly understood without investigation of the central element of a town's fabric – the houses, streets and suburbs. It was here that the townspeople lived, and a consideration of their form and expansion allows a better understanding of urban life than stark burgage numbers alone. Once again, it is at Cardiff that the most complete picture emerges. Turning firstly to the street pattern of the thirteenth-century town, our understanding has been aided by the existence of John Speed's plan of 1610. Although drawn some three hundred years later, the fact that Cardiff had experienced relatively little development in the intervening period meant that Speed captured the town while it still retained its essential medieval characteristics.[108] By comparing Speed's plan with the descriptions of Leland and Merrick, together with surviving thirteenth and fourteenth-century streetname evidence, a fairly accurate view of the street plan of Cardiff during the Clare period can be offered.

Within Cardiff the two main arteries were represented by the High Street and St Mary Street which ran north to south, and Duke Street, Shoemaker Street and West Street which ran east to west (see figure twelve).[109] Parallel with High Street ran Working Street and Trinity Street which were linked to the main north-south thoroughfare by Church Street and Porrage Lane.[110] On the western side of the town lay 'Hummanbye' (Womanby) Street which ran south from West Street towards Blount's Gate and the town quay.[111] Further to the south lay 'Frog Lane' which linked St Mary Street with the Golate and the second quay.[112] In the north of the town enclosure lay a number of smaller streets; 'Smiths Street' led immediately from the East Gate, 'North Street' to the North Gate, and 'Castle Lane' to the southern gate of the castle (see figure twelve).[113] What is obvious from the street plan is that, despite the defences having been extended to enclose a wider area, the majority of burgage plots continued to occupy the original area of the town in the north of the enclosure.[114] While there were more occupied burgages during the late thirteenth century than when Speed drew his plan, the southern area of the town must still have been far less congested, with large areas given over to small gardens and enclosures.[115] This two-staged development of the defences is reflected in the street plan itself, with the upper area formed concentrically around the castle gate, and the planned southern addition laid out in a more rectangular form.[116]

Despite the apparent space available in the southern area of the enclosed town, the suburban development first evidenced in the late twelfth century appears to have continued apace.[117] The main

areas of suburban expansion were outside the East Gate at Crokerton and outside the South Gate at Soudrey. Both suburbs are clearly marked on Speed's plan, and a number of deeds have survived from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries detailing burgages in both extra mural settlements. Indeed, at some time during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries a small hospital (or 'spittle') for twenty four lepers, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, was built beyond Crokerton (see figure twelve). Founded and financed by the burgesses themselves, it appears to have fallen into decay during the later fourteenth century.[118] While suburban development clearly existed at Crokerton and Soudrey during the Clare period, there would also seem to have been smaller scale development outside the North and West Gates. No indication is made on Speed's map of a suburb outside the North Gate, but a thirteenth century grant has survived which mentions a burgage of Simon Webir that lay outside the North Gate on the road from Cardiff to Senghenydd.[119] This may well indicate the presence of a small settlement in the area during the Clare period which was possibly destroyed by Owain Glyndŵr and not rebuilt.[120] Even less is known of extra mural settlement outside the West Gate. Speed's plan shows a number of small tenements alongside a watermill here, while a quitclaim of 1358 mentions a tenement in 'Le Mullestrate', which would appear to have been the road which ran from the West Gate to the mills.[121] Although no reference to this Mill Street has survived from the Clare period, it seems likely that some development occurred there as part of the general growth of the late thirteenth century.

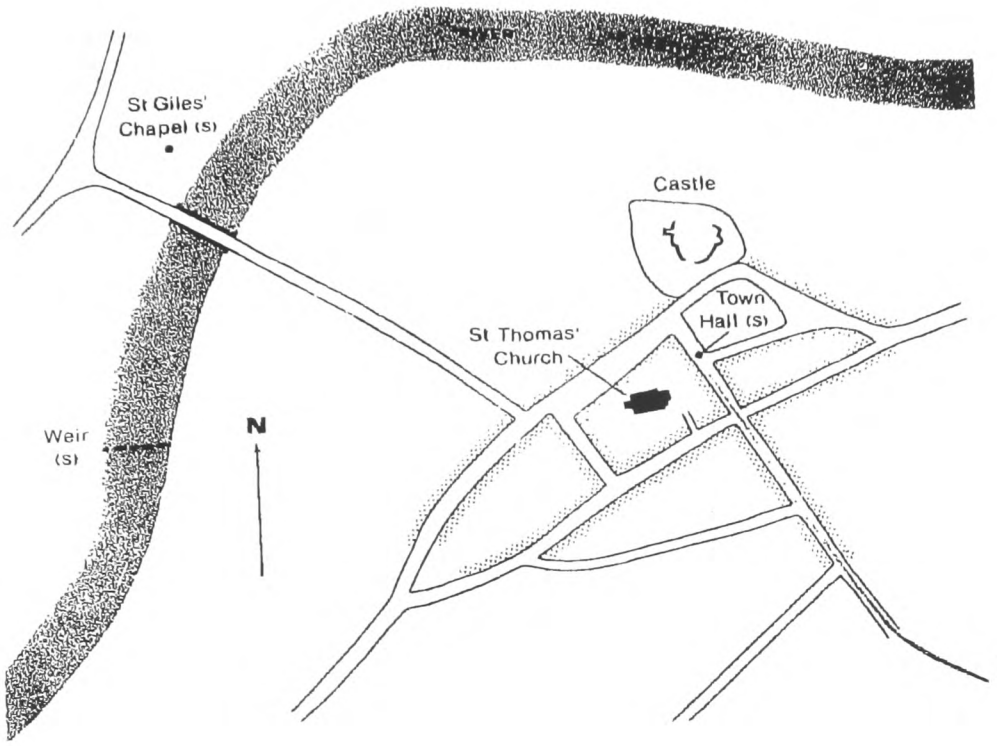
At Newport, as at Cardiff, the street plan of the town during the Clare period has been fairly easy to deduce from a number of surviving early plans and documentary references. Somewhat linear in development, the town was dominated by the castle to the north and St Woolos church to the south (see figure thirteen).[122] The street plan was dominated by the broad, curving High Street which contained the market place.[123] High Street, and its continuation Church Street (now Stow Hill) ran up to St Woolos Church, while to the north of the High Street ran Mill Street which led to the North Gate. A plan of 1752 demonstrates how these three streets dominated the medieval town, a view supported by John Leland who, in his description of Newport, commented that it was located "all yn one streate".[124] Suburban development at Newport again had its origins in the twelfth century as a charter of Earl William, dated 1147-64, mentions a messuage "extra murum in novo Burgo".[125] The location of this messuage is not identified, and no further references to suburban development have survived for the Clare period of tenure. When one considers the small area enclosed by the supposed line of the town defences, however, the possibility of extra-mural development during the town's medieval peak in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries would seem highly likely. The southern end of Church Street, the area outside the North Gate, and the area of Westgate Street (now Commercial Street) which is marked on Morrice's Plan as 'Corn Street', would all be possible sites for such development (see figure thirteen).[126]

Turning to the most westerly of the six towns, Neath, the survival of a number of early plans and some street-name evidence mean that once again a description of its thirteenth-century layout is fairly easy to construct.[127] At the centre of the town lay the church of St Thomas the Martyr, bounded by Church Place.[128] To the north east of the church ran the main artery of the town, Old Market Street, which met High Street at the site of the Booth hall (see figure seventeen).[129] At the edge of this central

core of the town, Old Market Street and High Street respectively joined Wind Street to the south-east and Gold Street to the east.[130] On the south-west periphery ran New Street, which is mentioned along with Wind Street and Gold Street in a sale of 1557.[131] To the north-west, a roadway ran out of the borough towards the bridge, while in the south-east Water Street continued the line of Old Market Street. From here the road continued south-east out of the borough towards Briton Ferry and the 'Port Way' (see figure seventeen).[132] The question of suburban development at Neath is complicated by the fact that the actual course of the town wall is unknown. It is possible that tenements continued along the line of Water Street as it headed out of the town towards Briton Ferry, as houses are shown along this road in both of the early plans of the town which have survived.[133] Without conclusive evidence of the course of the walls and the site of the 'great gate of the bailiwick' it is impossible to say for certain if these tenements were within or without the walls. Some settlement did occur outside the defences, of course, in the shape of the tenements recorded on the west bank of the river.[134] Little is known of the origins of these tenements, but it is possible that they represented the remnant of de Granville's original foundation.[135]

In complete contrast to the well documented medieval layouts of Cardiff, Newport and Neath is Kenfig, not least because the entire site of the borough has long been lost to the encroaching sands which forced its abandonment by the sixteenth century. Within the borough defences, however, some understanding of the possible layout of the town can be deduced from a number of surviving medieval sources. The main artery of Kenfig seems to have been its High Street, which contained the market place and the later market hall.[136] An 'Esstret' (East Street) and a West Street are both mentioned in the surviving documentary evidence, and together with the High Street it is likely that they formed a rectilinear street pattern.[137] Only a further two streets are mentioned, Monekin and Monk's Streets where Margam Abbey held land.[138] Suburban development had occurred at Kenfig during the twelfth century, located along West Street which, according to a charter of Earl Robert, lay outside the town.[139] Presumably containing a number of burgages, West Street also included the church of St. James, founded before 1154.[140] Of the development of the suburb during the Clare period, little is known. Some form of activity seems to have continued in the area, however, as a leper house or 'maladaria' was recorded there in the early thirteenth century.[141] Nothing is known of the extent of this suburban development, although given the relatively small size of the town throughout the period it was probably limited.

In the eastern reaches of the Clares' bloc of lordships, the internal layout of Usk remained essentially that described earlier during the tenure of the Marshals.[142] The streetplan of the medieval town has received a good deal of close study in recent years which has allowed us to build a fairly accurate picture of its layout.[143] The centre of the thirteenth and fourteenth century town was located in the area around Twyn Square, to the south of the castle (see figure fifteen).[144] As will be demonstrated, Usk experienced significant growth during the Clare tenure and this would suggest that the initial area would have been insufficient to house all the burgages. It would therefore seem likely that new areas of development emerged between 1246 and 1314, probably along Maryport Street,



Key

⁞⁞⁞	Built-up areas	—	Town defences, extant
*	Excavates sites	- - - -	", course of
(s)	Site of lost features	. . . .	", conjectural course
†	market-place		

FIGURE SEVENTEEN : NEATH c.1314 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

Porth-y-Carne Street and Olway Street (see figure fifteen).[145] The flood-prone area outside the western defences does not appear to have been developed until the later middle ages.[146] The question of extra-mural development at Usk during the Clare period is a matter for conjecture. As has been mentioned, the area enclosed by the projected line of defences at Usk would have been far greater than that required by the town, even with its thirteenth-century expansion.[147] However, if, as suggested, the growth was linear in form rather than on a more closely packed grid pattern, some development may have occurred where the streets passed outside the defences, leaving undeveloped areas within the enclosure. Indeed, Olway Street lay beyond the ditch system.[148]

Of the internal layout of Caerleon, the last of the six towns to come into Clare hands, very little is known due to the paucity of surviving contemporary evidence. As with a number of the other towns, our knowledge of the medieval street plan is aided by a later plan, in this instance drawn by Morrice in 1800, which probably captures the layout as it stood in the middle ages.[149] From this plan, and some contemporary placename evidence, it is a fairly straightforward task to reconstruct the thirteenth century pattern. The original core of the town centred around St. Cadoc's Church, as was discussed in chapter one.[150] To the south of this lay a grid-like section, whose form suggests that it was a planned addition rather than the result of piecemeal expansion.[151] The date of this southern addition to the town plan is unclear, although it is tempting to imagine that it was a part of the rebuilding of the town which followed the attack of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1231, when Caerleon was 'reduced to ashes'.[152] Very little is known of the time frame of this building, making it impossible to tell if it was complete by 1268 or whether work continued into the Clare period. As the fourteenth century dawned, however, this grid-like southern section probably replaced the area around St. Cadoc's as the core of the town; the axis of the borough seemingly being drawn towards the river.

Morrice's Plan also demonstrates the suburban development which was clearly evident during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the opposite bank of the River Usk. Referred to as the burgages "Ultra Pontem" in a succession of Ministers' Accounts dating from the early fourteenth century, they are clearly shown on the plan as a substantial linear development which in the period of Clare tenure amounted to some twenty-four burgages (see figure sixteen).[153] While suburban, or subsidiary settlement was clearly in existence on the opposite bank of the river, nothing is known of extra-mural settlement around the enclosure itself. Morrice's Plan depicts houses outside the supposed defensive line at Mill Street to the west, and on the continuation of Bridge Street outside the main entrance to the town.[154] It is possible that settlement occurred in these areas during the Clare period, being drawn towards the mill and the quay respectively. Without contemporary written or archaeological evidence of such settlement, however, caution must be exercised.

From this discussion of the evolution of the street plans and the internal infrastructure of the six towns inherited by the Clares during the course of the thirteenth century, it would appear that all underwent a period of expansion during Clare tenure. Indeed, as the following table shows, this is supported by primary documentary evidence for a growth in burgage numbers within the towns.

	c.1262	c.1295	c.1307	c.1314
CARDIFF	405	420	423	380
NEWPORT	242	c.256½	228	275
NEATH	c.100	104	128	128
KENFIG	N/A	N/A	142	160
USK	283	c.307	293	296
CAERLEON	112	c.100	c.208	c.280

Table One. Burgage Numbers. 1262-1314

i. Figures for 1262 from Royal Extent of 1262. PRO E142/88/2, except Newport, drawn from minister's account of 1263. PRO SC6/1202/1

ii. Figures for 1295 from I.P.M of the Red Earl. Cal. of I.P.M. Vol. III, no. 371.

iii. Figures for 1307 from I.P.M of Countess Joan. Cal. of I.P.M. Vol. IV, no. 435, except Caerleon, drawn from minister's account of 1304. PRO SC6/920/15.

iv. Figures for 1314 from I.P.M of Earl Gilbert, Cal. of I.P.M. Vol. V, no. 538, except Caerleon, drawn from minister's account of 1310. PRO SC6/920/18

Allowing for fluctuations caused, for example, by the revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd which explains the drop in numbers in many towns between 1295 and 1307, the period was one of steady if generally unspectacular growth.[155] In all the towns, with the single exception of Cardiff which reached its peak in 1307, this growth can be seen to have been maintained throughout the period in question, their numbers still increasing at the time of the death of the last Earl Gilbert in 1314. Only in Caerleon, however, is there evidence of an 'explosion' in burgage numbers. Calculated from the rents of assize returned in the Ministers' Accounts of the town, which rise sharply from 1309-10 onwards, the burgage total of c.280 would seem rather high.[156] However, it is substantiated by similar figures well into the 1320's which suggest that the total may have reached as many as 292 burgages.[157] While the inclusion of rents from freeholders as well as burgesses might mean that the figures suggest more burgages than there actually were, the overall trend of rapid growth remains, suggesting that Caerleon was a rather more substantial town during this period than has previously been thought. Indeed, this growth may have been responsible, either in the whole or in part, for the expansion of the apparently planned southern area of the town.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES IN THE INHERITED TOWNS

A central feature of the life of the medieval town, and indeed of medieval life in general, was the influence of the church and other related religious institutions. The church exercised a strong influence on everyday life in the medieval town and this, in turn, meant that it left an indelible mark upon the urban landscape. Consequently, if we are to fully appreciate the development of Cardiff, Newport, Neath, Kenfig, Caerleon and Usk during Clare tenure, we must be aware of the nature of religious influence in each town. Prior to their inheritance by the Clare earls, each of the towns had already experienced a rudimentary amount of religious development. As was seen in the discussion of the early development of these towns, the building of a church was often a primary act in the process of urban foundation. In fact, in some cases such as Caerleon and Newport, existing churches played an important part in determining the site of a borough.[158] Despite these earlier religious developments, however, it would be wrong to imagine that nothing was subsequently done during the Clare period to develop the religious aspect of life in the boroughs. As the towns expanded, so religious provision often increased. Thus it is possible to see the secular development of a town reflected in an increasing number and variety of religious buildings.[159]

The most striking developments, perhaps unsurprisingly, occurred at the largest and most important of the Clares' acquisitions, Cardiff. When the borough came into the hands of Gilbert de Clare in 1217, the religious infrastructure was already well developed. The church and priory of St. Mary, which was granted to Tewkesbury Abbey, had been founded to the south of the embryonic town as early as 1107 and continued to serve as the parish church of Cardiff throughout the period in question.[160] In addition to St. Mary's church, Tewkesbury was also granted the chapel of St. Nicholas, located within the castle.[161] By the close of the twelfth century, a number of other chapels had been erected in the town. A chapel dedicated to St. Piran stood on Shoemaker Street; a hermitage lay near to the Taff Bridge, while St. John's, a chapel of ease for St. Mary's, was built at the heart of the town.[162] St. Mary's itself was apparently rebuilt by Earl William in 1175, and shortly afterwards reference is made to the dedication of a chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr. The site of this chapel is unknown, but it seems likely that it formed a part of the newly reconstructed church.[163]

While the religious infrastructure at Cardiff was thus fairly well developed by 1217, the following century was to see a number of important additions which attested to the growing size, wealth and maturity of the town. Surprisingly, however, the first notable religious development in the borough during Clare tenure was one which saw a reduction in the existing Benedictine presence. In 1221 the five monks resident at St. Mary's were recalled by the mother abbey at Tewkesbury, reportedly because of 'recent disturbances in Wales'.[164] Reference is made to the prior until 1300, however, after which no further mention is made of him.[165] Whilst the Benedictine presence in Cardiff was reduced to a bare minimum during the period of Clare lordship, it was replaced in the mid-thirteenth century by some of the most striking urban religious developments seen anywhere in Wales during the medieval period, in the shape of a Dominican and Franciscan friary.

The twelfth century had seen the old monastic orders, and the Benedictines in particular, beset by a period of decline across western Europe. Throughout the century, many monks and clerics had

begun to desire a return to a monastic purity and simplicity which they felt had been lost. This desire saw the foundation of a number of new orders, of which that of the Cistercians was the most prominent in Glamorgan.[166] In turn, however, these emerging orders were challenged by a new desire for monastic reform which was centred around the vita apostolica, 'the apostolic life'. This represented a growing belief that the spirituality of withdrawal practised by the Cistercians and others had ignored the fact, as they saw it, that the Christian vocation demanded direct engagement with the secular world.[167] This desire for change manifested itself in the form of a number of groups of evangelists and penitential fraternities which found a natural home in the rapidly expanding towns and cities which possessed an articulate town – dwelling laity "in search of personal religion and critical of the assumptions of monastic spirituality" which presented a challenge the established church was ill equipped to meet.[168] Of the various groups of 'new evangelists' which emerged, perhaps the most important were the two orders of friars who followed the teachings of Saints Dominic and Francis, the Dominicans (also known as 'Blackfriars' and 'Friars Preachers') and the Franciscans (the 'Greyfriars' or 'Friars Minors').

The Dominican order was the first to reach Britain, arriving in 1221.[169] Following the practice already seen on the continent, they began to establish houses across the country in order to fulfil their belief that the Christian vocation demanded direct engagement with the secular world. This often led to their chosen locations being on the outskirts of larger towns with their concentration of population. The Dominicans reached Cardiff by 1242, although no record of the date of foundation has survived, making it difficult to say whether the land outside the west gate upon which they built their friary was granted to them by Earl Gilbert before 1231 or by the crown during its subsequent wardship. The fact that by 1231 Dominican houses are only known to have stood at Bristol, Exeter, London, Norwich, Oxford, York and possibly Shrewsbury, however, would tend to suggest the latter.[170] The foundations of the friary were excavated in 1887-88, establishing that the church was of 'early English style' dating from the thirteenth century, comprising a nave 120 feet long and a choir and presbytery 60 feet in length. To the north of the church lay the Cloisters, Sacristy, the Chapter House, parlour, dormitory, kitchen and refectory, while nearby lay the foundations of outbuildings which possibly represented the infirmary.[171] The fraternity which lived at the friary during the Clare period seem to have been drawn from both the immigrant English and native Welsh populations, as a burial list records, amongst others, David ap Gruffydd (c.1304), Henry Helys (1327), and John de Berkerolles (s.d.).[172]

The Dominican friary outside the West Gate was not the sole example of the early Mendicant movement to be established at Cardiff during the thirteenth century. The Franciscans, who arrived in Britain three years after the Dominicans, also established a house sometime before 1284, outside the walls of the town to the north of the suburb of Crokerton (see figure twelve).[173] The precise date of foundation is even more difficult to establish than that of the Dominicans, but it can be safely assumed to be a good deal earlier than 1284. As William Rees identified, its foundation is traditionally assigned either to the end of the lordship of Earl Richard, or in the early years of the lordship of his son, Gilbert.[174] Indeed, this confusion is not helped by Rice Merrick's assertion that the date of foundation was 1256, but that the founder was Gilbert![175] Whatever the precise date, it would seem safe to assume that in this instance the grant of land was made by the Clares. Greyfriars was also excavated in

1887, and the foundations of an aisled church of five or six bays, without a transept, were uncovered.[176] To the south of the church lay a graveyard, while to the north lay the Cloister and domestic buildings. The whole friary was enclosed by a wall which was passed by means of a gateway which survived in its medieval form into the nineteenth century.[177] Outside the walls lay two small enclosures, known as 'Cow Close' and the 'Friars Great Close', which would have housed the few animals kept by the friars.[178]

The establishment of the Dominican and Franciscan friaries at Cardiff during the thirteenth century represents an extremely important development. Both Dominican and Franciscan houses were rare in thirteenth-century Wales, a mere four and three friaries respectively.[179] Nowhere, other than Cardiff, however, were houses of both fraternities established. Indeed, across the whole of England only twenty-nine towns hosted houses of both orders, and the majority of these were major towns such as London, Bristol, York and Lincoln, major religious centres such as Canterbury and Winchester, or centres of education such as Oxford, Cambridge and Northampton.[180] This would appear to suggest that Cardiff was regarded as being an important urban centre during the thirteenth century. Both orders were drawn to towns as centres of population and commerce which offered a ripe field for their evangelism as centres of surplus wealth which made it possible to support these groups of missionaries who depended upon gifts and begging for their livelihood. As well as wealth, the towns also presented a reservoir of young people free from seigneurial bondage from which the friars hoped to recruit new members.[181] While Cardiff did not offer the same level of expectation as the larger English towns, let alone the great European cities, it must have represented an urban centre of sufficient wealth, population and perceived need of ministry to have attracted the attention of both orders.

Religious influence in Cardiff during the Clare period went further than the direct presence which has been discussed so far. Religious houses from outside the borough also acquired an interest in Cardiff in the form of various grants of money and property made both by the lord and the burgesses. Such grants had occurred from the earliest days of the borough, grants of lands and rents to Tewkesbury by the earls of Gloucester in the twelfth century being one example.[182] Indeed, this continues throughout the Clare period, both by the earls themselves and individual burgesses. Richard de Clare issued a confirmatory charter to Margam Abbey before 1261 which made it clear that the abbey held a number of burgages, and rents from others, within the town.[183] Later in the thirteenth century, evidence has survived demonstrating how a number of burgesses granted individual burgages to Margam.[184] Margam and Tewkesbury were not the only beneficiaries of such grants, although Margam seems to have held the greatest amount of land. The Cistercian abbey at Neath held a 'mansionem' in the town prior to its inheritance by the Clares, while during the lordship of Gilbert the Red the abbey gained a major stake in the town which dwarfed the value of the grants made to Margam.[185] In 1289, the earl concluded an important exchange with the abbot of Neath Abbey in which Gilbert acquired most of the lands granted to the abbey by Richard de Granville in return for a payment of £100 per annum to the abbey.[186] The total of £100 was made up of specified rents from the demesne manors of Llanbleddian and Llantwit Major, and burgage rents from Cardiff, Neath, Cowbridge and Caerleon.[187] The wider implications of this agreement will be discussed later in this study, but the £20 3s 0d. which was given to the abbot from the rents at Cardiff each year represented a

sizeable amount.[188] In total, the various agreements and endowments received by religious houses outside the town combined to form a major stake in the borough of Cardiff.

At Newport, the religious infrastructure of the town had evolved along similar lines to that of Cardiff prior to 1217. Unlike Cardiff, however, the origins of an ecclesiastical presence at Newport pre-date the arrival of the Anglo-Norman invaders, and it may well be the case that the parish church of St. Woolos replaced an earlier Welsh 'Llan'.[189] St. Woolos was granted to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, during the second half of the twelfth century, but there is no evidence to suggest that it ever served as a priory.[190] The twelfth-century form of St. Woolos church is preserved in the nave of the present-day cathedral, and is entered by means of a well preserved Norman archway. The church appears to have been extended during the period of Clare lordship as to the west of the nave lies St. Mary's Chapel, which appears to be of thirteenth-century construction.[191] In addition to the parish church, Newport was also served by a number of chapels in the middle ages, although little clue exists as to their date of foundation. In addition to St. Mary's chapel, a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence was built in Mill Street, apparently as a chapel of ease of St. Woolos.[192] Such a chapel would have been extremely useful to the towns-people when one remembers that St. Woolos was located away from the heart of the town on the top of Stow Hill (see figure thirteen). A further chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas, was located on the eastern boundary of the borough.[193] Neither is evidenced until after the Clare period, but there is good reason to suppose that they might have been founded as a response to the growth of the town in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. St. Lawrence's, if it did serve as a chapel of ease, may even have been of twelfth-century origin as the need for such a chapel must have existed fairly early in the life of the borough.

While the ecclesiastical presence in Newport during the Clare period was well developed, no form of religious house was established within the town. It has already been noted that St. Woolos did not serve as a priory, while it was not until the later fourteenth century that a house of Austin Friars was established.[194] Indeed, not only did Newport lack an indigenous religious house, it also demonstrated a lack of interest on the part of abbeys outside the borough during the Clare period. During the twelfth century, there is plenty of evidence to show that a number of abbeys held a strong interest in the borough.[195] After 1217, however, less evidence of such grants exist while by the end of the thirteenth century there appears to be outright hostility between Earl Gilbert the Red and nearby Goldcliff Priory.[196] The surviving evidence also appears to demonstrate less of a tendency for the burgesses of Newport to patronise particular abbeys in the manner of their contemporaries at Cardiff.[197] While the fact remains that only limited evidence has survived for the period, making a definitive statement impossible, it would nevertheless appear that religious houses held less of a stake in Newport than Cardiff.

This picture of low key religious development at Newport during the Clare period is also evident at the two smaller towns of Neath and Kenfig. At both, the parish churches of St. Thomas and St. James were founded during the twelfth century; St. James's Kenfig first being mentioned in 1154 and St. Thomas's Neath believed to have been contemporary with the castle.[198] Of the precise nature of St. James's, nothing is known as its site has been lost beneath the sands, but a good deal of its stone

appears to have been used in the construction of the new church at Pyle in c.1471.[199] It was located some 267 metres south of the castle and 85 metres south of the projected southern angle of the town rampart (see figure fourteen).[200] At Neath, St. Thomas's occupied a central location within the town, as was noted in the earlier discussion of the street plan.[201]

The central location of St. Thomas's, Neath coupled with the very small size of the borough throughout the period in question seems to have limited the need for any form of chapel within the borough as none is evidenced. On the 1601 survey of Cadoxton manor, however, the site of a small chapel dedicated to St. Giles is indicated on the west bank of the river Neath (see figure seventeen). The origins of the foundation of this chapel are obscure, but it is tempting to imagine that it was built to serve the tenements on that side of the river.[102] At Kenfig, meanwhile, a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas had been constructed within the borough by 1173-83, when it is mentioned in a confirmation to Tewkesbury Abbey.[203] Its location within the town, like so many of the features of Kenfig, is unknown but it may again have served as a chapel of ease for St. James's, which was located outside the borough.

As well as displaying a limited pattern of ecclesiastical development, both Neath and Kenfig also lacked a monastery, priory or friary within their boundaries. This is hardly surprising, however, when one considers the close proximity of the towns to the great Cistercian houses of Neath and Margam which held a strong interest in the boroughs.[204] As with Cardiff and Newport, grants of land in Kenfig to Margam occurred throughout the twelfth century, both by the earls of Gloucester and other individuals.[205] These earlier grants were confirmed by Richard de Clare between 1229 and 1261, but once again the surviving evidence falls silent concerning new grants in Kenfig made by the Clares.[206] As at Cardiff, however, the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries appear to have been a time of individual grants to Margam by the burgesses themselves. Burgages in Kenfig were granted by Philip le Paumer and Alice relict of Geoffrey, while a grant of salt from a Bristol tenement was made by a John de Kenefegh.[207] Indeed, the fact that Margam had become a notable land-holder in the town is further demonstrated by the fact that in 1267 the abbey leased two thirds of a messuage to a Michael Tusard for twenty years.[208]

Neath also enjoyed a close relationship with the nearby abbey of Neath during the twelfth century.[209] Unlike the relationship between Kenfig and Margam, however, it was during the period of Clare tenure that Neath Abbey gained its most important stake in the borough of Neath. As part of the exchange agreement of 1289 between the Red Earl and the Abbot, £5 15s 4. of the annual payment of £100 was drawn from the burgage rents of Neath.[210] As the total burgage rents only amounted to £6 15s 3½d. in 1311-12, this clearly represented a major interest in the borough.[211] The surviving evidence does not suggest, however, that Neath Abbey benefited from grants of land within the borough by individual burgesses. This would be entirely consistent with the economic situation at Neath though which, as will shortly be discussed, was underdeveloped in as much as there was no wealthy urban elite capable of making the gestures seen at Cardiff and Kenfig.

A similarly underdeveloped religious infrastructure is witnessed in the Clares' easterly towns of Usk and Caerleon during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; the picture which existed in

1246 and 1268 was largely the same as that in 1314. At Usk, the dominant ecclesiastical presence was the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary which was founded either simultaneously with, or shortly after, the town c.1170-76.[212] The priory church, originally a typical Norman cruciform structure, served throughout the medieval period as the sole church of the town. At some point during the thirteenth century, a north aisle was added for parochial use but the absence of building records makes it impossible to say if this work dated from the Clare or Marshal era.[213] The ecclesiastical presence at Usk appears to have been rather more centralised than in the Clares' other large towns of Cardiff and Newport. Only one chapel is known to have existed in the medieval period, the priory chapel of Mary Magdelene, which may have stood on the site of the 'Black Friars' in Four Ash Street.[214] Whether this site represented a chapel during the Clare period is unclear, however, but a minister's account of 1315-16 refers to a leper house in 'Elewithstreet'.[215] The site of this leper house is unlocated, but Paul Courtney has suggested that it lay on the same site as the chapel in Four Ash Street.[216] This would suggest that the leper house either later fell into disuse and was rebuilt as a chapel, or that the chapel was accommodated within the leper house. While Usk was perhaps underdeveloped in terms of places of worship, it nevertheless supported an important medieval urban religious institution – a hospital. First evidenced in 1322, its location is unclear, although Bradney suggested the Beaufort Arms in Bridge Street (see figure fifteen).[217] Whether it stood during the Clare period of tenure is unclear, but the fact that it is evidenced so soon after would suggest that it is likely to have done.

As in the other towns, religious influence in the borough of Usk went much further than the ecclesiastical infrastructure. Rather, it embraced secular developments to give St. Mary's Priory an economic stake in the town. The priory had become a landholder within the town from the outset, as in his founding charter to the priory Richard 'Strongbow' granted three burgage plots in addition to the land for the priory itself.[218] Combined with additional grants of tithes of demesne land within the vill and the 'ninth fish' of the fisheries of Usk, this gave the priory a fairly significant interest in the fledgling town.[219] Once again, however, no documentary evidence has survived from the Clare period outlining any further grants, preventing one from establishing if the Clare earls further patronised the abbey. Indeed, this shortage of surviving evidence also precludes any identification of widespread individual grants on the part of the burgesses. Given the size and apparent wealth of Usk during this period, however, such grants are likely to have occurred.[220]

Caerleon, of all of the six towns inherited by the Clares during the thirteenth century, appears to have had the least developed religious infrastructure during this period. The town was served by a single church, dedicated to St. Cadoc, which dominated the topography of the town with its large central enclosure (figure sixteen). The parish church may have been constructed upon the site of a native Welsh 'clas' as according to tradition St. Dyfrig is said to have founded a collegiate church here in the mid sixth century.[221] As at Newport, the church retained its Welsh dedication, although this is hardly surprising when one remembers that much of the early development of the town occurred while it was in Welsh hands.[222] St. Cadoc's appears to have been rebuilt in the thirteenth century, probably after the devastating attack by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1231.[223] One would imagine that by 1268 this rebuilding programme would have been largely complete, but it is possible that work continued into the Clare period. Aside from St. Cadoc's there is very little ecclesiastical presence recorded within the

town during the middle ages. No chapels are evidenced in the surviving documentary sources while no form of religious house was established within the borough, the nearest being the Cistercian Abbey at nearby Llantarnam.[224] While no religious house existed within the boundaries of the town, Caerleon was no different from the other towns in as much as outside foundations held lands and interests in it. A main beneficiary of grants was Goldcliff Priory which, prior to the town entering Clare control, had been granted numerous lands and interests in the borough and surrounding area including two burgages by Hywel ap Iorwerth at some time before his death in 1211.[225] In 1289, Neath Abbey also gained an interest in the town as part of the land exchange with the Red Earl. Under the terms of the agreement, some £10 7s 4d. of the total burgage rent (which in 1305-06 amounted to £11 12s 6d.) of Caerleon was handed to the abbot.[226] As to individual grants by the burgesses, the sources are once again silent for the Clare period. As with Usk, however, this should not be taken to mean that such grants definitely did not occur.

The picture of religious developments which emerges at Caerleon during this period is one which generally mirrors the situation in most of the other five towns. The period of Clare lordship cannot be seen to have been a time of great ecclesiastical and religious growth. At best, it mirrors the developments seen in the other aspects of the towns' infrastructural and institutional growth in being a period of evolution rather than revolution. In others, Caerleon being the best example, virtually no development occurred. In the case of most of the towns, the religious infrastructure had already reached a certain level by the time they came into Clare hands which, with one or two minor developments such as a chapel or hospital, proved to be sufficient. Only in Cardiff, the Clares' caput, can major developments be identified in the form of the Dominican and Franciscan friaries. Elsewhere, the other five towns in question do not appear to have developed sufficient size or importance to attract or require such institutions.

TRADE, INDUSTRY AND URBAN FORTUNES

So far in this chapter, the evolution of the fabric of the six towns in question has been discussed in order to understand the ways in which the towns, their infrastructure and institutions developed during the period of the Clare lordship. Yet the physical development is only part of the story and to understand the history of the towns during this period fully, attention must also be turned to the life of the town and its inhabitants which existed within this framework. In the course of this section, therefore, an explanation will be offered for the economic development of the towns, the trades, crafts and industries practised by the townspeople, and the overall success (or otherwise) of the six boroughs as urban centres.

The primary economic role of the thirteenth century town was as the centre for exchange and marketing for the surrounding agricultural hinterland, and as was seen in chapter one this was a role which had been evolving since the earliest days of foundation.[227] Reference to the surviving documentary evidence serves to reinforce the importance of this role in the six towns in question.[228] Each possessed marketplaces, which have been identified earlier, at which people from the surrounding area were allowed into to trade upon the payment of tolls.[229] In most cases, the market was held

weekly but in the case of Cardiff and Usk it had probably become a bi-weekly event by the close of the period in question, although no evidence has survived to confirm this beyond doubt.[230]

The market itself served as a centre of exchange within the locality of the town, and represented the first stage in the development of the boroughs as marketing centres. By the thirteenth century, however, it becomes clear that all six towns had expanded their marketing roles further by developing fairs, in essence glorified markets which were usually held once a year and lasted for anywhere between three days and six weeks.[231] As the market was the centre for local exchange, so the fairs developed as a centre for the trading of wares from outside the locality. During the middle ages, it was usual for fairs to be incorporated as part of a religious festival, and this was certainly the case in the six towns of concern here (see table 2). Of the origins of the fairs in these towns, only that at Neath can be dated with any confidence as an inspeximus of Thomas le Despenser dated 1397 confirms a charter of Earl Gilbert 'the Red' which, on April 20 1280, granted permission for a fair to be held in the town.[232] Little information can be offered regarding the foundation of the fairs in the other five towns, other than to say that they had all been founded before 1296, when their existence is mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem of the Red Earl.[233]

TOWN	DATE OF THE FAIR	SOURCE
CARDIFF	FEAST OF ST. PETER AND PAUL	PRO., Ministers Accounts, SC6/1202/6.[234]
NEWPORT	VIGIL OF ST. LAWRENCE (9 AUGUST)	Hugh Stafford's Charter of 1385.[235]
NEATH	VIGIL OF ST. MARGARET	Clark. Cartae. IV. no. 1075. p.1419.
KENFIG	1. FEAST OF ST. JAMES 2. TUESDAY IN WHITSUN WEEK	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Vol. III, no. 371.[236]
CAERLEON	1. ALL SAINTS DAY (1 NOVEMBER) 2. TUESDAY AFTER HOLY TRINITY	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Vol. XII. no. 321.[237]
USK	1. ST. LUKE'S DAY (18 OCTOBER) 2. MONDAY AFTER HOLY TRINITY	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Vol. XII. no. 321.[238]

Table 2. Fairs in the six towns c.1314

The establishment of markets and fairs within each of the six towns by the close of the Clare period demonstrates that all were steadily evolving as centres of commercial activity for their surrounding hinterlands. While all had developed this role, however, it did not automatically follow that all six would be as successful as each other. Success as a marketing centre was intimately linked to the size and wealth of the hinterland, for the larger and richer the hinterland, the larger the

surrounding population and the greater the goods to be traded. Economically, this immediately placed towns such as Cardiff and Usk ahead of the likes of Neath and Caerleon. This immediate inequity of economic opportunity thus influenced from the outset the patterns of growth taken by the six towns.

Turning firstly to Cardiff, it becomes immediately obvious that as the caput of the lordship of Glamorgan, located within one of the richest and most securely held areas of the Clares' Welsh inheritance, the borough was placed at an immediate advantage in economic terms. As has been seen, its position as the chief marketing centre of Bro Morgannwg and the major seaport of the lordship had already been well exploited prior to it falling into Clare hands.[239] The economic advantages to Cardiff were clear. Located amongst a series of large, productive manors and benefiting from a relative increase in security by the late thirteenth century, the borough continued to develop as a marketing centre under Clare lordship. This is indicated by the tolls levied on persons coming from without the borough to trade, which rose from £4 in 1262 to £5 5s 0d. in 1307, not inconsiderable sums.[240] In addition to the rich hinterlands, however, Cardiff also benefited economically from its position as the administrative centre of Glamorgan, and ultimately the whole of the Clare's Welsh inheritance.[241] The steady stream of officials moving to and from Cardiff castle, combined with the castle's role as the Clares' chief Welsh residence, would undoubtedly have provided quite considerable demand for both goods and services which would have been satisfied by the townsfolk.

In turn, these advantageous economic conditions provided plenty of opportunity for the settlers within the town. The steady stream of people into the borough to the weekly market, the fair and indeed to the castle offered a ready market for various traders and craftsmen, in addition to the opportunities provided by fellow burgesses every day of the week. From the surviving primary evidence, it is possible to see that many of the crafts and trades practised in the medieval town in general, were common to Cardiff during the Clare period. Particularly noticeable were victualling trades with brewing, baking, fishing and butchering all evidenced.[242] Of these trades, the brewing of ale appears to have been particularly important, the prise of ale (a toll levied on each brewing) amounting to £25 in 1296 and £20 in 1307.[243] As well as foodstuffs, a wide range of other goods appears to have been manufactured at Cardiff during the period in question, a number of trades being suggested by both street names and personal names. As was seen earlier in the discussion of the street plan of thirteenth century Cardiff, a number of references have survived to suggest the existence of trade quarters within the town.[244] In the north the town, it will be remembered, ran Shoemaker Street while immediately inside the East Gate stood Smiths Street.[245] Both of these streetnames are fairly self explanatory and indicate a strong manufacturing presence in the north of the borough. Indeed, further indication that the north of the town was the centre of manufacturing in Medieval Cardiff is suggested by the name of the suburb outside the East Gate, Crokerton. The origins of the name are obscure, but one possibility is that it might be derived from the Old English 'Croccere', which would make Crokerton the 'street of the potters'.[246] Only archaeological evidence of pottery manufacture on the site would conclusively settle this question, however. Further evidence of crafts and occupations in medieval towns can be drawn from personal names or titles recorded in surviving documentary

sources. In Cardiff such evidence is unfortunately lacking during the Clare tenure, but one reference has survived to a William le Tanner who held half a burgage in the late thirteenth century.[247] This provides further evidence of a leatherworking industry in the town which, as well as the Shoemakers, incorporated tanners, glovers and cordwainers.[248] In addition to the manufacture of leathergoods, metalwork and (possibly) pottery, many more unevidenced trades are likely to have been practised within the borough, such as carpentry, haberdashery and mercery to name but a few examples found in English towns of similar development.[249]

By the close of the Clare period, Cardiff appears to have possessed a fairly wide base of manufacture which played an important role in the town's prosperity and growth. Yet the medieval economy of the borough went further than providing a centre for local exchange of rural produce and urban manufacture. It is during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that strong evidence first emerges to suggest that Cardiff became a centre of commerce on a national and occasionally international level. Evidence of trade between Cardiff and Ireland emerges as early as 1216 when a Cardiff ship was arrested at Pembroke containing 'wine and chattels' from Dublin and Drogheda.[250] Indeed, the level of maritime activity seems to have been notable during the early thirteenth century as the ships of Cardiff, with some help from Newport, were able to overcome those of Bristol in a 'fight' during 1233.[251] It is in the later thirteenth century, however, that a more consistent body of evidence emerges for a conspicuous level of seabourne trade, and a mercantile elite which profited from it.

During 1279, the Patent Roll contains a reference to a "Geoffrey Babbe, merchant of Kairdyf" who was granted protection and safe conduct whilst "going to the parts of Ireland with his ships, things and merchandise to trade".[252] The trading practised by Babbe is likely to have been typical of many of his fellow merchants in Cardiff who, in 1283, were ordered to take "victuals of any sort" to Merioneth where they were "to be exposed to sale for the use of the king and his subjects".[253] Cardiff appears to have developed into a trading centre of note, a view reinforced by the fact that the town had become a central collection point for wool and hides following the introduction of the 'Great Custom' on all staple products in 1275.[254] Indeed, it would appear that it fulfilled this role for all the Clares' Welsh lands.[255] That Cardiff was an important mercantile centre is given further credence in 1300 by a royal order to the bailiffs of the town forbidding "silver in mass or in any other way to be taken to parts beyond the sea from the said port without the king's special licence, under pain of forfeiture of life and goods and of all other things that may be forfeited to the king...".[256] Cardiff, quite clearly, had developed into a centre for the import and export of luxuries as well as more mundane staple goods.

While a mercantile elite had thus developed at Cardiff by the close of the thirteenth century, the successful medieval merchant did not restrict his interests to one town alone. Rather, he established connections in other mercantile centres. Such commercial awareness was apparent amongst the merchants of Cardiff as in 1273 the Patent Roll makes a number of references to John Long, a Cardiff mercer who was also a burgess of Bristol and Southampton.[257] In connection with a fellow Southampton merchant, Bernard de Hampton, he was granted a licence for the export of wool.[258]

Shortly after the death of Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert, a further example of this diversification into other towns emerges in the form of John de Kerdif, who is described as a merchant of Bristol, who received royal protection for a year for himself and his wares.[259] Such inter-town connections were not limited to major English trading centres, however, as evidence survives to suggest that a similar state of affairs existed within the Clares' Welsh domains. In an undated sale agreement of the late thirteenth century, for example, a burgage belonging to Matilda, daughter of Geoffrey in Cardiff was sold to a Thomas, burgess of Kenfig.[260] The existence of a class of burgesses holding property in both Cardiff and Kenfig is further suggested by a grant of the same period in which William son of Oswald grants a burgage in Kenfig and a messuage in Cardiff to his son Theobald.[261] No such evidence survives to show Cardiff burgesses holding property in the Clares other Welsh towns during this period, but the possibility that it did occur must be considered likely.

This economic vigour on the part of the burgesses appears to have been further enhanced during the period in question by a sense of organisation, which manifested itself in the form of a Guild Merchant. The Guild was, in essence, an association by which the merchants and traders of the town bonded together for the protection of common interests and to further common aims.[262] The earliest surviving reference to the existence of a guild at Cardiff dates from 1324, when Edward II confirmed that the Guild of Cordwainers and Glovers were to receive the privileges of a hall to meet in and elect officers to run their affairs.[263] While this development clearly post-dated the period of Clare tenure, it was probably the case that individual craft guilds, of which the Cordwainers and Glovers may have been but one, had developed from a broader based Guild Merchant which existed during the lordship of the Clares.[264] Indeed, the fact that the privileges were confirmed by the King in 1324 may indicate that the individual craft guilds had already developed before this date and were simply being given official recognition. Thus, while no conclusive evidence has survived it would seem sensible to recognise that some form of guild existed at Cardiff during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, a clear indication of the level of commercial sophistication which the borough had attained.

In comparision with the fairly comprehensive picture which emerges for Cardiff, the economic development at neighbouring Newport during the corresponding period is rather less well evidenced. Nevertheless, it is still possible to offer an explanation of how the borough developed during Clare tenure. From its initial period of development in the twelfth century, it is clear that Newport firmly established itself as the demographic and commercial centre of the sub-lordship of Gwynllŵg.[265] While the surrounding hinterland was small and relatively poor, the vast majority of Gwynllŵg comprising upland pasture, the markets and fair nevertheless seem to have been well attended as in 1314 tolls were valued at £5 0s 0d., the same amount as Cardiff.[266] Like Cardiff, Newport also drew some economic benefits from the presence of a castle, though they were rather less pronounced. Unlike Cardiff, Newport castle was neither a major administrative centre nor a regular residence of the Clares which meant that only the garrison presented a ready market for the townsfolk. As its numbers fluctuated with the prevailing military situation, however, its role was limited.

Inspite of these deficiencies, the crafts and trades practised in Newport were probably similar to those seen at Cardiff, although far less evidence has survived. The crafts and trades which are evidenced are few, but nonetheless important. Returning to the use of streetnames to suggest the location of particular trade quarters, the existence of a leatherworking industry is suggested by the survival of a Skinner Street in the modern town, although no direct reference to it has survived from the Clare period.[267] Whether leatherworking in the town concentrated upon hides or extended to crafts such as shoemaking and glovemaking is also unclear. In addition to a leatherworking industry, Newport during the thirteenth century is also likely to have possessed the usual range of trades and crafts common to the small medieval market town, ranging from carpenters and smiths to the various victualling and clothing trades. As at Cardiff, ale was certainly produced in the borough, the 'prise' rising from £8 in 1262-63 to £13 10s 11d in 1314.[268]

The existence of a quay on the town pill would suggest that Newport served as a centre for some form of transmarine trade, a suspicion reinforced by the reference to the activities of ships from Newport in 1233.[269] No known evidence has survived for the Clare period mentioning either merchants of Newport or the type of trade in which they were involved. Indeed, in the royal order to merchants to supply the royal army in north Wales in 1283, reference is made to Cardiff, Usk and Caerleon but not to Newport.[270] This would seem to suggest that Newport had not developed as a major centre of transmarine trade and thus a mercantile elite did not emerge in the way seen at Cardiff. Instead, it is tempting to imagine the town as a centre for the local retail trade, both land and sea-bourne, with some small scale longer distance transmarine activity.[271] This apparently local-based trading pattern is seemingly reflected in an underdevelopment of burgess organisation. While they had acquired the usual rights of medieval burgesses, albeit possibly by convention rather than formal charter, no evidence survives to suggest that the commercial life of the town was sufficiently developed to require the formation of merchant or trade guilds.[272] Indeed, it would seem doubtful if Newport actually developed a guild at all during the middle ages for while provision for a guild was made in Hugh Stafford's charter of 1385, no reference to a functioning guild has survived.[273] What is clear, is that Newport did not develop any form of guild during the Clare period, further reinforcing the view that Newport lacked the degree of economic specialization and evolution seen at neighbouring Cardiff.

Turning to the third of the larger towns inherited by the Clares, Usk displays differing characteristics from those of Newport. As was discussed in chapter one of this study, the choice of site at Usk seems to have been based more on its accessibility as a marketing and economic centre than for its defensive attributes.[274] Unlike Cardiff and Newport, however, the town of Usk lay inland in an area which had remained in Welsh hands until well into the second half of the twelfth century. This meant that the hinterland that it served was rather different in that it contained a mixture of Welsh tenements and manorial settlements. Unlike the parallel situation in lowland Glamorgan, there is no evidence of English peasant settlement in Usk lordship during the Clare period; instead rural exploitation consisted of sub infeudated manors and demesne manors worked by unfree Welsh tenants, and free Welsh tenants living in small hamlets or farmsteads and paying traditional dues and renders.[275] As at Cardiff,

however, Usk castle was a significant military and administrative centre and this provided the town with a further ready-made market. It is the difference in the nature of the hinterland which perhaps offers the key to the impressive size of Usk during the Clare period of lordship. Ongoing study in the hinterlands of Monmouth has suggested that that it was during the second half of the thirteenth century that pottery was first adopted by the rural Welsh.[276] A similar process may well have occurred in Usk lordship at the same time with the native Welsh becoming actively involved in the market, resulting in widespread commercial development and urban growth in those towns which possessed predominantly native Welsh hinterlands.[277] Combined with the demand from the demesne and sub-infeudated manors in the surrounding area, this thirteenth century 'boom' in marketing would obviously have been beneficial to the borough of Usk. This much is reflected in the profits derived from the markets and fair which returned £3 10s 0d in the late thirteenth century.[278]

Of the crafts and industries pursued by the inhabitants of Usk during this period, very little information has survived. Unlike Cardiff and Newport, no street name evidence has been recorded to indicate the possible location of trade quarters.[279] In addition to this lack of street name evidence, the surviving documentary sources are also silent regarding the occupations of individual burgesses. Despite this, it would seem fairly safe to assume that Usk during this period contained the same forms of economic activity which were common to most towns of a similar size across England and Wales, such as leatherworking, smithing, pottery, victualing, cloth trades, carpentry and general trading.[280] Indeed, by the close of the Clare period Usk appears to have been a fairly well developed trading centre, as a merchant class seems to have emerged amongst the townsfolk. As at Cardiff, the "men and merchants" of Usk were ordered to supply the royal army in north Wales in 1283.[281] This merchant class may well have been a part of a group which had interest in more than one town, for the surviving Inquisitions Post Mortem include details of payments of rent by 'foreign burgesses'.[282] There is no information regarding the origins of these burgesses, but it is possible that they were also burgesses of nearby towns such as Chepstow, Abergavenny and Monmouth, or even more distant commercial centres such as Bristol or even Cardiff.[283] Despite this apparent emergence of a merchant class in Usk during the period of Clare tenure, once again the organisation of economic life on the part of the burgesses was underdeveloped as no evidence survives to suggest the existence of any form of guild. Whether this was because there were not enough craftsmen practising the same discipline to form a guild or because seigneurial control prevented such a development is unclear, although the second aspect will be considered in more detail later in this study.[284] It is interesting to note, however, that there is no evidence for any form of guild being formed in any of the medieval towns of Gwent during the period in question, suggesting that the lack of economic specialisation and trade concentration was not limited to Usk.[285]

The lack of surviving primary evidence for the economic development of the Clares' Welsh boroughs is particularly acute in the case of the three smaller urban centres of Neath, Kenfig and Caerleon. As is clearly demonstrated in table 2, all three towns were firmly established as marketing centres during the thirteenth century with each hosting a fair in addition to the obligatory market.

Throughout this section, the point has been consistently made that the wealth of a town depended upon its success as a marketing centre, and nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the case of these three towns. Caerleon, like Newport, probably suffered from a hinterland which had a high proportion of upland pastoral areas rather than a large number of extensive, wealthy manors. Neath also suffered from its position which, in the mid twelfth century, had seen military considerations outweigh the future commercial viability of the site.[286] Located at the western limits of the lordship of Glamorgan, its hinterland was dominated by the rugged upland landscape of Blaenau Morgannwg. Only Kenfig had a fairly rich and more anglicized hinterland which made Earl William's "town for marchandize" a far better prospect as a marketing centre.[287] Once again, all three of the smaller towns were protected by castles which probably provided an extra economic stimulus in the form of their garrisons, which in times of military necessity could prove substantial. In 1314, for example, a constable, six horsemen and one hundred and forty archers resided at Neath castle between 31 July and the 6 August.[288] Without the consistent administrative and residential role seen at Cardiff and Usk, however, the role of the castles in the smaller towns was rather less consistent in economic terms.

Once more, the surviving documentary evidence for the trades, crafts and industries practised at these towns during the Clare period is limited, particularly in terms of personal and streetname evidence.[289] However some idea of their level of development can be reached through consideration of the Kenfig Ordinances, a body of regulations governing life and trade in the borough originally compiled in 1330.[290] Despite thus falling slightly outside the time frame imposed on this study, the Ordinances nevertheless identify many of the trades witch would have been practised in Kenfig and, perhaps by inference, in Neath and Caerleon during the Clare era. In addition to listing typical produce brought into the market, such as livestock, cereals and dairy products, from the surrounding agricultural area, the Ordinances also list a number of crafts and trades.[291] The majority concern victualling trades such as butchers, brewers, bakers, grocers, corn merchants, taverners and fishmongers. Manufacturing crafts receive rather less attention but there is mention of tanners.[292] To these can also be added crafts common to most medieval towns such as smiths and carpenters, giving a fairly comprehensive view of the economic life of a smaller borough. It will be appreciated, therefore, that much the same types of economic activity occurred in the smaller towns as in the major centres of Cardiff and Usk. Where they differed, however, was in the questions of specialization and concentration. At Cardiff, for example, good evidence survives to show that not only were particular trades and crafts concentrated in certain areas of the town, but also that a good deal of specialization occurred within particular industries. Within the leather industry, for example, there were concentrations of glovers, shoemakers, etc.[293] In Neath, Kenfig and Caerleon, however, individual craftsmen may have performed a number of these crafts. Also, as they were smaller in number (particularly in Neath and Kenfig), they were more likely to be scattered throughout the town rather than concentrated in groups.

What has become clear during the discussion of the development of the fabric of Neath, Kenfig and Caerleon is that all three apparently evolved as ports of some description, suggesting the existence of transmarine trade and the possible emergence of some form of mercantile elite.[294] This would seem

particularly likely in the cases of Caerleon and Kenfig. Although the economy of Caerleon, like the majority of the towns of Gwent, was based upon the local retail trade, as a port Caerleon could have acted as a distribution centre for imported luxuries such as French wine, as well as being a centre for the export of raw materials.[295] Indeed, with question marks being placed against the ability of sea-going vessels to reach Usk, Caerleon may well have served as an access to wider markets for the produce from the inland areas of Usk lordship.[296] Caerleon's role as a centre for longer distance trade appears to have been well developed by the close of the Clare period as, in 1283, the "men and merchants" of the town were ordered to supply the royal armies in north Wales, along with those of Cardiff and Usk.[297] Further evidence of a mercantile elite may be provided by the fact that Caerleon is alone amongst all the Clares' Welsh towns in having a known Jewish community.[298] Whilst no direct reference is made to their occupations, it is likely that, as elsewhere, they made a living as merchants as well as moneylenders.[299] At Kenfig, too, there is good reason to believe that a merchant class had developed in the town during the Clare era as, during the discussion of merchants at Cardiff, it was noticed that merchants there held land at Kenfig and vice versa.[300] As was mentioned, this would indicate that the merchants of Kenfig had become aware of the commercial benefits to be accrued from holding property and business interests in more than one town.[301] Indeed, this tendency to diversify interests into other towns is reinforced by the grant by "John de Kenefegh, burgess of Bristol" to Margam Abbey in 1261.[302] As at Cardiff, this would suggest that the merchants of Kenfig had expanded their interests into other major towns.

Unlike the parallel situation at Caerleon and Kenfig, little information has survived to suggest that Neath developed as a centre of mercantile trade. The particularly small size of the town, coupled with its poor hinterland, probably combined to retard the town's development as anything other than a centre for the local retail trade. The possibility that some long-distance trade occurred at Neath should not be ruled out completely, particularly when one considers the lack of evidence, but it must surely be considered unlikely. Neath had been an instrument of conquest and subjugation first and foremost, and thus when the marketing role of towns developed it found itself at a distinct economic disadvantage. Yet this didn't mean that there were no opportunities for advancement within the town on the part of the burgesses. The minister's account for the borough dated 1311-12 mentions one burgess, Stephen de Cappenore, who held multiple properties; evidence of an early form of estate building in the town.[303] This would seem to suggest that certain burgesses could amass sufficient wealth to form an elite amongst the population.

Turning again to the question of Guilds, the three smaller towns inherited by the Clares mirrored the picture seen at Newport and Usk in as much as no such developments are known to have occurred. In the case of Caerleon this can be stated with some authority as in none of the surviving documentary evidence is there mention of any form of guild during the middle ages.[304] The situation at Neath and Kenfig is a little more complicated, however, as guilds are evidenced at both towns later in the fourteenth century. At Kenfig, in the Ordinances of 1330, it is stated that

> "noe burgess be made or received into the Guildhall except he be admitted by the portreeve, aldermen and burgesses, soe that he may be ruled by the portreeve of the said town".[305]

This is reinforced by a charter of 1360 which makes explicit reference to the "guild of the merchants".[306] No evidence survives, however, to date the origins of the guild to the Clare period, making it difficult to say whether it was an innovation of that period or a development which occurred under Despenser control. A very similar problem surrounds the existence of a guild at Neath. Once again, no surviving primary evidence mentioning a guild during the Clare tenure has come to light, but in a charter awarded to the town by Edward le Despenser in 1359, reference is made to a "guildam".[307] Again, whether this was an innovation of the Clare period which had hitherto gone unmentioned or a later Despenser development is difficult to say. As with Kenfig, however, the complete lack of any evidence for such an institution during the Clare era means that it must be assumed to have had its origins during the latter; particularly when one considers the small size of both boroughs during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The patterns of economic development taken by each of the six towns during the Clare period of lordship can, therefore, be seen to have varied quite considerably in nature and extent. Indeed, nowhere is their varying wealth and economic evolution more clearly demonstrated than in the profits they returned to their lord, as the following table demonstrates

	CARDIFF	NEWPORT	NEATH	KENFIG	CAERLEON	USK
RENTS	£ 21 1s 1d	£13 10s 11d	£ 7 8s 10d	£ 5 16s 11d	£14 12s 10d	£14 18s 1½d
ISSUES	£ 42 18s 4d	£19 5s 3d	£ 2 16s 0d	£ 2 4s 2d	£27 6s 5d	£63 10s 2d
FARMS	£ 38 0s 0d	N/A	£ 7 0s 0d	£ 9 6s 8d	N/A	N/A
COURT PROFITS	£ 1 13s 4d	£ 2 0s 0d	£ 2 4s 0d	£ 1 3s 0d	N/A	£ 4 11s 0d
TOTAL	**£103 11s 9d**	**£34 16s 2d**	**£19 8s 10d**	**£18 10s 9d**	**£41 19s 3d**	**£82 19s 3½d**

Table 3. Income from the towns c.1314

i. Figures for Cardiff from Cardiff Records, Vol. 1, p. 278.

ii. Figures for Newport from Reeves (1979). pp. 122-38.

iii. Figures for Neath from PRO., SC6/1202/7. mm. 11-13.

iv. Figures for Kenfig from PRO., SC/1202/9.[308]

v. Figures for Caerleon from PRO., SC6/920/21.[309]

vi. Figures for Usk from PRO., SC6/927/19.

A clear pattern emerges from these figures which directly reflects the development and experience of each of the six towns during the period of Clare lordship. The most economically successful towns were, quite clearly, the two largest:- Cardiff and Usk. As the table shows, in both boroughs rents

(although high by contemporary Welsh standards) were dwarfed by the income the lord accrued from economic activity in the towns. These are represented by the 'issues' (that is the tolls of the markets and fairs, prise of ale, profits of the fisheries etc.) and the 'farms' (that is any of the above sources of income farmed by the lord to the burgesses for an agreed yearly sum) which, when added together, give some indication of the economic performance of a town. Thus at Cardiff and Usk £80 18s 4d and £63 10s 2d. were returned respectively, far in excess of the other four towns.[310] In the next economic strata are Newport and Caerleon. At both, income from the towns' economic performance are fairly impressive, comfortably exceeding the income received from burgage rents, albeit by less of a margin than at Cardiff and Usk. As Caerleon and Newport both lacked the rich hinterlands and administrative importance of the larger towns, their performance is particularly noteworthy. Indeed, Newport's performance could exceed this figure at times, for as early as 1262 issues and farms totalled £31 4s 0d.[311] Finally, it is clear from the table that the least successful towns in economic terms were the boroughs of Neath and Kenfig. This is hardly surprising, however, when one considers the burdens to growth and development shouldered by both these towns. Undoubtedly hampered from the outset by its location and vulnerability to Welsh attack, Neath's commercial viability during this period was never anything more than precarious.[312] Similarly, while Kenfig benefited from a more favourable location and rather more economic encouragement and development, its overall growth and expansion was consistently hampered by Welsh attacks and the destruction they caused. Effectively, as has been stated, the town underwent almost constant rebuilding and this undoubtedly contributed to Kenfig failing to fulfil its potential as a commercial centre.[313] Consequently, in both towns issues and farms were extremely low and, in the case of Neath, barely outweigh the amount returned in burgage rents.

The development of the six towns inherited by the Clare family during the thirteenth century was, therefore, marked by evolution rather than revolution for in general there is little to suggest that it was a period of outstanding and radical developments. The caput of the lands, Cardiff, is perhaps the most striking in its evolution during the period of Clare lordship, acquiring an extended circuit of town walls, two orders of mendicant friars and a well ordered and profitable economic role. At other towns, such as Caerleon, Newport and Usk, however, the period was one of less startling developments but one which nevertheless represented a time of gentle growth and steady economic expansion. Only at the smaller boroughs of Kenfig and Neath was the period of Clare lordship marked by, if not quite stagnation, then very little development. Overall, however, the main point to be drawn from this discussion is the fact that no attempt was apparently made to radically alter the nature, purpose and roles of the six inherited towns. Their character and purpose as general economic and military centres had been formed in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Clare tenure simply saw this existing character and purpose developed and enhanced rather than radically changed. This, as we shall see, was in marked contrast to developments in the four new towns founded by the Clares in the course of the thirteenth century.

Notes

1. See above, chapter one, passim.
2. Schofield, J. and Vince, A. (1994) Medieval Towns, pp. 19-20.
3. Ibid. p.23.
4. See above, chapter one, passim.
5. Schofield and Vince, p. 23.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. pp. 36-40.
8. Soulsby, I. (1983) The Towns of Medieval Wales, p. 37 ; for a discussion of Flint and Rhuddlan see Archaeology in Wales XI (1971), no. 43 ; and Miles, H. 'Excavations at Rhuddlan 1969-71, Interim Report ; Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society, XXV (1971-2), p. 8.
9. Soulsby (1983), p. 38.
10. A Pipe Roll of 1184-5 lists repairs to Cardiff which include an entry for the "portarum et palicii de Card[iff]", while at Neath reference is made to bank (and presumably palisade) defences in Richard Granville's founding charter to Neath Abbey, 1130 ; Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910) Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent, Vol. I, 171, p. 171 ; Ibid, I. 67, pp. 74-6 and V. 1220. pp. 1680-1.
11. Printed in Rees, W. (1969) Cardiff : A History of the City, opposite p. 116.
12. Schofield and Vince, pp. 36-7 and fig. p. 27 ; Clark, Cartae, I. 171. p. 171.
13. See above, chapter one. p. 14 ; Walker, D.G. 'Cardiff', in Griffiths, R.A. (ed.) (1978) Boroughs of Medieval Wales, p. 111.
14. Schofield and Vince. p. 40 ; Spurgeon, J. Glamorgan : Later Castles and Fortifications, forthcoming R.C.A.H.M.W. publication.
15. Matthews, J.H. (1898) Cardiff Records, I. pp. 276-8.
16. Spurgeon, forthcoming.
17. A full explanation is given in Rees (1969). pp. 20-1 and Spurgeon, forthcoming.
18. Rees, (1969). pp. 20-1.
19. Ibid.
20. Clark, Cartae. I. no. 67. pp. 74-6 ; and V. no. 1220. pp. 1680-1.
21. Soulsby (1983), p. 190 ; Hopkins, A. (1988) Medieval Neath : Ministers Accounts 1262-1316, pp. 13-14.
22. Spurgeon, forthcoming.
23. See above, chapter two. p. 46 ; Spurgeon, forthcoming. Previous studies had considered the rebuilding of Neath castle in stone to date after 1258, but the fact that the castle withstood Llywelyn's attack suggests that it had already been refortified to some degree. Brooksby, H. 'Neath Castle', Morgannwg xvii (1973). pp. 62-4.
24. Griffiths, R.A. 'The Medieval Boroughs of Glamorgan and Medieval Swansea', Glamorgan County History, Vol. III (1971), p. 337 ; Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1864) 'Annales de Theokesberia', Annales Monastici, Vol. I (Rolls Series XXXVI), p. 197 ; Clark, G.T. (1883) The Land of Morgan, p. 116.
25. Medieval Architecture, X (1966). pp. 194-5.
26. Ibid ; Spurgeon, loc. cit.

27. Among the pictorial representations are – Buck Brothers (1741), Anthony Denis (1770), J. Warwick Smith (c.1790) and George Bradshaw (1807) ; the last two are reproduced in Glamorgan Historian. Vol. I (1963) between pp. 48 and 49.

28. Quoted in Phillips, D. Rhys (1925) History of the Vale of Neath, p. 53 note 2.

29. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

30. PRO., Ministers Accounts SC6/1202/8, m.3 ; printed in Hopkins, A. (1988). pp. 66-82.

31. See above, chapter one, passim.

32. A number of later sources describe Caerleon as being a walled town. Leland writing that "the ruines of the wauiles of the town yet remayne..." while a Bargain of Sale dated 1622 describes "the town and town walls...". As no evidence has yet emerged to show medieval additions or repairs to the Roman masonry, one suspects that they were covered by medieval earthen banks, only to have become exposed in the sixteenth century, perhaps by post-medieval stone robbers. Smith, L.T. (ed.) (1906) Leland's Itinerary in Wales, p. 45 ; Gwent Record Office, Gw.R.O/SCH/0876.

33. A charter of Earl William of Gloucester to Goldcliff Priory c.1147-6 which refers to a "mesuagium extra murum novo Burgo" suggests the presence of a stone wall, but this is not confirmed by any further evidence, either documentary or archaeological. PRO., C.53/76 m.10; transcribed in Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973) Earldom of Gloucester Charters, no. 280, p. 176.

34. Leland, Itinerary. p. 45.

35. Soulsby (1983), p. 204.

36. Reeves, A.C. 'Newport' in Griffiths, R.A. (ed.) (1978) Boroughs of Medieval Wales, pp. 214-5.

37. Leland, Itinerary. loc. cit; Reeves, A.C. (1978), loc. cit.

38. Matthews. J. (1910) Historic Newport, pp. 105-06.

39. See above, chapter two, passim.

40. In 1228, Kenfig was burnt by Hywel ap Maredudd of Meisgyn; in 1231 it was destroyed by Morgan Gam; while in 1242 it was attacked and burnt for a second time by Hywel ap Maredudd. A period of relative calm seems to have lasted until 1294-5 when Kenfig was destroyed for a fourth time; this reduced burgage rents to only 13s. that year. Finally, in 1316 Kenfig was ravaged during the revolt of Llywelyn Bren. Luard, H.R. (ed.) (1966) 'Annales de Margam' in Annales Monastici, Vol. IV. pp. 35-6, 39 ; Clark. Cartae, III. no. 758, p. 859 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371 p. 244 ; Calendar of Close Rolls, 1313-18, pp. 162, 406 ; Clark, Cartae, III. no. 867, p. 1024.

41. The palisaded rampart which enclosed the Norman keep at Kenfig was replaced by a polygonal curtain wall with a south-facing gatehouse, either by the Red Earl, Countess Joan or Gilbert fitz Gilbert. Spurgeon suggests before 1295. Spurgeon, forthcoming. ; 'Annales de Margam', p. 39.

42. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Vol. III, no. 371 p. 244 ; Spurgeon, forthcoming ; Evans, A.L. (1958) Margam Abbey, p. 76.

43. This area was long regarded as being the castle bailey, with the town presumed to have lain to the south-west. The exceptional size of the area, 8.25 acres, would seem far too large to have been a bailey, while the position of St. James' Church, only 85 m outside the 'bailey', suggests that the area was in fact the site of the enclosed borough. Spurgeon, forthcoming. For a view that this area was the castle bailey see Soulsby (1983), p. 150; Evans, A.L. (1960) The Story of Kenfig, pp. 19-20; Gray, T. (1909) The Buried City of Kenfig, plan between pp. 58 and 59.

44. Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973). no. 68, pp. 73-4 ; Clark, Cartae, I. no. 101. p. 103.

45. See above, chapter one, fig. 5 ; the line of defences at Usk are described in greater detail in Mein, A.G. (1986) Norman Usk, pp. 46-70 ; and Courtney, P. (1994) Report on the excavations at Usk 1965-76 : Medieval Usk, pp. 97-104.

46. By the end of the twelfth century a square stone keep had been added to the presumably timber palisaded motte and bailey. At various points in the thirteenth century it was further strengthened by a curtain wall with three circular stone towers. Courtney (1994). p. 99 ; Soulsby (1983). p. 261 ; Knight, J.K. 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', in Apted, M.R. et al (eds.) Ancient Monuments and their Interpretations : Essays presented to A.J. Taylor, pp. 139-54.

47. Mein (1986). pp. 48-50 ; Courtney (1994). pp. 103-04.

48. Ibid.

49. For Gilbert de Clare's acquisition of Caerleon, see above, chapter two, p. 50.

50. See above, note 32.

51. See above, chapter one, figure 4.

52. Gwent Record Office Gw. R.O. /SCH/0876 (1622) ; Ibid, Gw. R.O. /260/4981 (1617).

53. Kennerley, E. 'Medieval Caerleon', Gwent Local History, no. 45 (1978). p. 16.

54. See above, chapter one. p. 25.

55. Ibid. passim.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. The town mill is mentioned in Earl William's charter of c.1147-83 and was repaired following a Welsh attack of 1183-4 ; Matthews (1898) Cardiff Records, Vol. I. pp. 12-13 ; Clark, Cartae, I. no. 171. p. 171.

60. The mills are mentioned in the Extent of Cardiff made in 1262 (Clark. Cartae, II. no. 616, p. 657) ; the Extent of lands delivered to Hugh le Despenser, 1317 (Ibid. III. no. 886. p. 1050) ; the account of Humphrey de Bohun, 1263 (Matthews. Cardiff Records, I. p. 104) ; the I.P.M of Countess Joan (Ibid. I. p. 268) ; the accounts of Bartholomew de Badelesmere, 1315-16. (Ibid, I. p. 107) ; the account of Welthlian Turberville, 1316 (Ibid, I. p. 132) ; and John Giffard's account of 1316 (Ibid, I. p. 137).

61. The existence of the mills has also been indicated by the discovery of millstones in the area of the medieval leat, Rees (1969). p. 56.

62. See above, chapter one, p. 14.

63. The bridge, 80 yards upstream from the present structure, may not have been rebuilt in stone until 1792, following severe flood damage; Spurgeon, forthcoming; Rees (1969). pp. 21, 26, 132-4.

64. This small bridge is depicted in Paul Sandby's view of 1775 (reproduced in Cardiff Records, III, facing p. 188); the area was cleared in 1921 by J.P. Grant, the estate architect to the Marquis of Bute; Grant, J.P. (1923) Cardiff Castle, its History and Architecture, pp. 33-7.

65. Rees (1969). p. 51; see above, chapter one, p. 14.

66. Clark, Cartae, IV. no. 970. pp. 1225-27 ; Soulsby (1983), p. 98; Rees (1969). pp. 37, 217-18.

67. See above, chapter one, pp. 14-15.

68. Matthews. Cardiff Records, I. p. 218 ; II. p. 392 ; IV, p. 337 ; V, pp. 341-2. 371. ; Rees, (1969). pp. 21-2. Tolls of 7s-2d were collected form the "sea landing place" in 1316, presumably a reference to quayage (PRO., Ministers Accounts SC6/1202/8, transcribed in Cardiff Records, I. p. 132) ; in the I.P.M of Earl Gilbert in 1314 reference is made to the "Port of Cardiff" Cardiff Records, I. p. 278).

69. Clark, Cartae, I. no. 34. p. 37; the priory established by fitz Hamo at St. Mary's church as a cell of Tewkesbury ceased to operate as such in 1221 when the monks were withdrawn. Possibly it was at this point that control returned to seigneurial hands. Rees (1969). p. 24.

70. Matthews, Cardiff Records, I. pp. 268-9.

71. Soulsby (1983). p. 204 ; Reeves, A.C. (1978). p. 197.

72. PRO., SC6/1202/1. m.2 ; the redditus assisus was £12-2s-3½d.

73. Reeves, A.C. (1978). p. 214.

74. See above, chapter one, p. 17.

75. Matthews, J. (1910) Historic Newport, p. 131 ; Reeves, A.C. (1979) Newport Lordship 1317-1536, p. 115.

76. For economic growth, see below. pp. 111-13.

77. See above, chapter one, p. 17.

78. Soulsby (1983). p. 204.

79. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 336.

80. Reeves, A.C. (1979). pp. 128-9. It was farmed in the early fifteenth century for only 10s per annum.

81. Clark, Cartae, II. no. 171. p. 172 ; Richards, A.J. 'Kenfig Castle'. Archaeologia Cambrensis, 7th series, VII (1927). p. 163 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 342.

82. PRO., SC6/1202/6. m. 10 ; SC6/1202/7. mm. 11-13 ; SC6/1202/8. m. 3 ; SC6/1202/9. mm. 1, 8; Griffiths, R.A. (1971), p. 337 ; Clark, G.T. (1883) The Land of Morgan, p. 94 (for mills at Neath); Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, IV. no. 435 (for Kenfig). The figure of two mills at Neath represents an increase over the mid-thirteenth century when Llywelyn ap Gruffydd reportedly destroyed the town mill.

83. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

84. PRO., SC6/1202/5. printed in Hopkins, A. (1988). pp. 30-4.

85. Ibid. This is unusual as in most cases such halls are erected by the burgesses on land granted to them by the lord.

86. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. XIV. no. 209 ; the I.P.M of Edward le Despenser, dated 1376, it mentions a 'Bothalle' at Cardiff, Neath and Kenfig.

87. PRO., SC6/1202/1. m. 1, printed in Hopkins (1988). p. 28.

88. These tenements were in place by 1207; Clark, Cartae, II. nos. 307, 310, 311; pp. 309, 311.

89. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. IV, no. 435 ; PRO., SC6/1202/5. printed in Hopkins (1988). pp. 30-4.

90. PRO., SC61202/8. m. 3, printed in Hopkins (1988). : the account mentions the farm of creeks and "answers for the hire of 1 boat for carrying 6 quarters, 2 bushels of oats from Kenfig as far as the castle by water".

91. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1232-47. p. 108.

92. Rice Merrick's Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities, pp. 53-4 ; Clark. Cartae. IV. no. 1075.

93. Shown on a survey of Cadoxton Manor, 1601, reproduced in Birch, W. de Gray (1902) History of Neath Abbey, p. 268.

94. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III. no. 371 ; ibid, IV, no. 435 ; PRO., Ministers Accounts. SC6/1202/6. m. 10 ; SC6/1202/7. mm. 11-13 ; SC6/1202/9. mm. 1, 8.

95. See above, chapter one, passim.

96. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, V no. 538 (Usk) ; Ibid. III, no. 371. (Caerleon).

97. Mein (1986). pp. 76-82 ; Courtney (1994). pp. 105-06.

98. Courtney (1994), pp. 98-9.

99. No direct evidence has survived to confirm that this was the site of the market during the Clare period, but it appears to have served as the marketplace during the later middle ages and well into the modern period. It is clearly depicted, along with the market house, an Morrice's Plan of 1800 reproduced in Courtney (1994). p. 124.

100. Ibid, loc. cit. ; Mein (1986). p. 76.

101. Bristol Record Office, Bristol Great Orphan Book. Entry no. 32, ref. 04421(1).

102. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III no. 371.

103. PRO., SC6/920/15 ; SC6/920/17 ; SC6/920/18 ; and SC6/920/21.

104. Printed in Courtney (1994). p. 123.

105. See above, chapter one. p. 22.

106. Printed in Courtney (1994). loc. cit. It may even be the case that the medieval quay had developed from an earlier Roman installation.

107. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III. no. 371 ; IV. no. 435 ; V. no. 538.

108. Speed's plan is printed in Rees (1969), opposite p. 116.

109. Rees (1969), p. 22 ; Smith, L.T. (ed.) (1906) Leland's Itinerary in Wales. pp. 34-5 ; Merrick's Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities, pp. 93-6. ; Clark, Cartae, III. no. 726 represents an undated thirteenth century charter which grants a burgage on St. Mary Street to Margam Abbey.

110. Rees (1969), loc. cit. ; Clark. Cartae. II. no. 478. p. 475, a grant of half a burgage on Working Street; Walker, D. (1978), pp. 113-14; Porrage Lane is now Wharton Street, although its original name is retained in the Welsh title of the street – Porth-y-Cawl.

111. Rees (1969), loc. cit. ; Walker (1978), loc. cit. ; Clark, Cartae, III. no. 856. p. 1009, represents a grant of a tenement in Womanby Street, dated 2 August 1310.

112. Speed, in Rees (1969), opposite p. 116.

113. Ibid ; Clark, Cartae. III. no. 735. p. 800, a grant of a burgage on the east side of North Street ; Walker, D. (1978). p. 114.

114. Rees (1969). p. 23.

115. Ibid. p. 22.

116. Ibid. p. 23.

117. See above, chapter one, p. 14.

118. Speed in Rees (1969), loc. cit. ; Clark. Cartae. III. no. 736. pp. 801-2 (a burgage "without the borough of Cardiff") ; Ibid. IV. no. 995. pp. 1266-7 (mentions a "John Mody the elder of Crockarton", 1348) ; Ibid. IV. no. 1079. p. 1434 (mentions half a burgage in "Crokerstrete", 1399) ; Ibid. IV. no. 904. p. 1089 (mentions a burgage in "Shipman Street outside the South Gate", 1321). For the hospital see Rees (1969), pp. 18, 23-4.

119. Clarke. Cartae. III. no. 736. pp. 801-02 ; Walker (1978). p. 118.

120. Walker (1978). loc. cit.

121. Clark. Cartae. IV. no. 1005. pp. 1280-1.

122. The medieval layout of the town survived into the early years of the last century, and was recorded by Morrice in his plan of 1800, reprinted in Courtney (1994). p. 127.

123. Ibid. p. 123.

124. A Survey of the Lands of the Earl of Powis in Monmouthshire, by Thomas Thorpe, 1752. Gwent County Record Office ; Soulsby (1983), p. 205 ; Leland's Itinerary, p. 14.

125. Patterson, R.B. (1973), no. 280, p. 176.

126. Courtney (1994), p. 127.

127. Survey of Cadoxton Manor (1601), reprinted in Francis, G.G. (1845) Original Charters and Materials for the History of Neath and its Abbey, unpaginated ; Mackworth Estate Map of 1720, reprinted in Birch, W. de Gray (1902) History of Neath Abbey, p. 268.

128. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

129. The hall is shown on the Gnoll Map of 1811, printed in Glamorgan Historian, Vol. 9, between pp. 160-1 ; Soulsby (1983). p. 191.

130. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

131. Ibid ; Clark, Cartae, V. no. 1418. pp. 2013-17 (assuming that 'Wyn Strete' and 'Gilden Strete' are in fact Wind Street and Gold Street).

132. Soulsby (1983), loc. cit ; Spurgeon, forthcoming.

133. Francis and Birch, loc. cit.

134. Clark, Cartae, II. no's 307, 310-11. pp. 309-11.

135. See above, chapter one, p. 13.

136. The High Street is mentioned in the Kenfig Ordinances of 1330, printed in Gray, T. (1909), pp. 156-74.

137. West Street, which ran outside the town, is mentioned in a grant by Earl Robert of Gloucester, printed in Patterson, R.B. (1973), no. 68. pp. 73-4 ; 'Esstret' is mentioned in a grant of c.1325, printed in Clark, Cartae, III. no. 1126.

138. Spurgeon, forthcoming ; Ordinances of 1330 in Gray, T. (1909). pp. 156-74. ; Soulsby, p. 151.

139. Patterson, R.B. (1973), no. 68. pp. 73-4.

140. Ibid, no. 271. p. 175.

141. Spurgeon, forthcoming ; Clark, Cartae, II. no. 355. pp. 355-6.

142. See above, chapter one, passim.

143. For a full discussion of the town plan, see Mein (1986), pp. 71-2 ; Courtney (1994), p. 106.

144. Courtney (1994), p. 106.

145. Ibid ; two surveys of 1570 and 1630 record 36 and 38 burgages along Olway Street. National Library of Wales, Llangibby A51. fos. 251-82 (1570), and Bradney, J. A History of Monmouthshire, Vol. III part ; pp. 23-9 (1630).

146. Mein (1986), loc. cit ; Courtney (1994), loc. cit.

147. See above, p. 86.

148. Courtney (1994), p. 106.

149. Printed in Ibid, p. 124.

150. See above, chapter one. p. 20.

151. Courtney (1994), p. 123.

152. Jones, T. (ed.) (1955) Brut y Tywysogyon ; Red Book of Hergest Version. p. 229.

153. PRO., SC6/920/15 (1303-04) ; SC6/920/17 (1305-06) ; SC6/920/18 (1309-10) ; SC6/920/21 (1315-16). These accounts all record burgage rents "ultra pontem" of between £1 3s. 9d and £1 3s. 10d., from which the estimated burgage total of 24 has been calculated.

154. Courtney (1994), p. 124.

155. The figures of 1307 reflect the fact that a number of the towns were still recovering from the effects of the revolt.

156. PRO., SC6/920/18 ; the rents of assize = £14.

157. PRO., SC6/920/21 ; this account, for 1316, lists rents of assize as £14 12s. 10d. As late as 1326-7, rents of assize totalled £14 6s. 7d. ; SC6/921/9, quoted in Holmes, G.A. (1957) The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England, p. 162.

158. See above, chapter one, passim ; Soulsby (1983), p. 45.

159. Soulsby (1983), loc. cit.

160. See above, chapter one. p. 11 ; Clark, Cartae, I. no's 34, 36. pp. 37-9 ; Rees (1969), p. 24. The presence of monks at St. Mary's is not attested to before the lordship of Earl Robert, however.

161. Clark, Cartae, loc. cit ; Rees (1969), p. 25.

162. Rees (1969), loc. cit ; Giraldus records an incident where a religious man, possibly the hermit of the bridge, charged the king with allowing markets to be held on the Sabbath.

163. Rees (1969), p. 26 ; Patterson (1973), no. 49. p. 63. "...the church of blessed St. Mary and the blessed St. Thomas the Martyr which I built in Cardiff" ('ecclesie beate Marie et beati martiris Thom (e) quam construxi apud Kard(if)'). This would appear to suggest that the church was rededicated and included St. Thomas' Chapel.

164. Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N. (1953) Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales. p. 62 ; Victoria County History, Gloucestershire, ii, p. 62 ; Rees, W. 'Cardiff Priory', South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, ii (1950). p. 139.

165. Rees (1969), pp. 24-5 ; idem (1950), p. 139 ; the prior is mentioned, for example, in Pope Nicholas' taxation of 1291, quoted in Dugdale, W. (1846) Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. IV. p. 632.

166. Cowley, F.G. 'The Church in Glamorgan from the Norman Conquest to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century'. Glamorgan County History, III (1971). p. 93 ; for a comprehensive analysis of the development of religious houses in Europe at this time see Lawrence, C.H. (1994) The Friars. pp. 1-26.

167. Lawrence (1994). p. 15.

168. Ibid, p. 18.

169. Knowles and Hadcock (1953), p. 35 ; they were sent by Dominic himself from the second general chapter of the order at Bologne and travelled under the protection of the bishop of Winchester. Their first two houses appear to have been at Oxford and Holborn, London.

170. Ibid, pp. 183-8 ; in 1242, Henry III granted the friary a gift of 5 marks. Calendar of Liberate Rolls. 1240-45. p. 105.

171. Rees (1969), p. 33.

172. Ibid.

173. Knowles and Hadcock (1953), pp. 35-6, 190. Their first houses were established at Canterbury, London and Oxford.

174. Rees (1969), p. 34.

175. Rice Merrick's Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities, loc. cit.

176. Rees (1969), loc. cit.

177. Ibid : It survived until the construction of St. John's Schools on the site in 1819.

178. Ibid.

179. Knowles and Hadcock (1953), pp. 183-94. Dominican Houses stood at Bangor, Brecon, Cardiff and Haverfordwest. Franciscan Houses were established at Carmarthen, Cardiff and Llanfaes.

180. Ibid, pp. 183-94 ; Lawrence, C.H. (1994), p. 103. Towns which possessed both were Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Cardiff, Carlise, Chester, Chichester, Dunwich, Exeter, Gloucester, Hartlepool, Hereford, Ipswich, Kings Lynn, Leicester, Lincoln, London, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Salisbury, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Stamford, Winchelsea, Winchester, Worcester, Yarmouth and York.

181. Lawrence, C.H. (1994), p. 102.

182. Clark, Cartae, I. nos. 34, 36, 102. pp. 37, 39 and 104.

183. Ibid, II. no. 466. pp. 460-5.

184. Ibid, III. nos. 724-26, 728, 729. pp. 791-5 ; the burgesses named are Herbert son of Turkil, Robert de Kaerdif, Matilda de Kaerdif, and John and Matilda le Porch.

185. Ibid, II. no. 318. pp. 315-18.

186. See above, chapter one p. 13 ; Clark, Cartae, IV. no. 963. pp. 1203-05 ; the agreement is contained in Edward III's confirmation to Neath Abbey dated 18 April 1336.

187. Ibid.

188. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. IV. no. 435. p. 322 ; the total rents from the 423 burgages at Cardiff in 1307 only amounted to £21 3s. 0d. , leaving only £1 after the abbot had been given the agreed amount.

189. Reeves (1978) p. 189 ; Soulsby (1983), pp. 202-03 ; Courtney (1994). p. 112.

190. Patterson, R.B. (1973), no. 87. p. 89.

191. Reeves (1978), p. 125 ; the chapel, according to tradition, stands on the site of St. Gwynllyw's place of prayer.

192. Rees, W. (1951) The Charters of the Borough of Newport. no. XVII. pp. 6-7 ; Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Commission. 1810-34). IV. p. 363 ; Reeves (1978). p. 192.

193. Reeves (1978), loc. cit. ; Rees (1951), loc. cit.

194. Knowles and Hadcock, p. 242 ; Roth, F. (1961) The English Austin Friars 1249-1548. Vol. I. pp. 79. 305-7 ; Wakeman, T. (1859) The Monastery of Austin Friars, passim. It was founded during the lordship of Hugh, earl of Stafford, and was endowed with 31 burgages in 1377. They were probably located in the south-west of the town in the area referred to as the 'Friars Field' on Morrice's Plan, see Courtney (1994), p. 127.

195. Aside from St. Woolos, Earl William granted rents of a mill and burgages to St. James' Church, Bristol, a burgage to Margam Abbey, and rents from land at Newport to St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol ; Patterson (1973) nos. 27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 132, 137, 139-40, 144-5, 148-9. Earl William also granted various rights and privileges to Goldcliffe Priory ; Ibid. no. 280 ; Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300. pp. 360, 362.

196. Calendar of Close Rolls, 1288-96, p. 197.

197. One grant of this type is recorded, however, a John Ode, burgess, who granted St. Peter's Gloucester a moiety of his land ; Hart, W.H. (ed.) Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae (Rolls Series, 1863-7). II. pp. 267-8 ; Reeves (1978), p. 191.

198. Patterson (1973), no. 271. p. 175 ; Clark, Cartae, I. no. 110. p. 111 ; Birch (1902), p. 228. The Church of St. Thomas at Neath may originally have been the garrison chapel.

199. Evans, A.L. (1960) The Story of Kenfig, pp. 50-1.

200. Spurgeon, forthcoming ; it was visible to Carlise in 1811.

201. See above, p. 96.

202. Ibid.

203. Clark, Cartae, I. no. 137. p. 134.

204. Neath Abbey lay downstream of the town on the opposite bank of the river.

205. Clark, Cartae, I. no. 156. pp. 154-5 (Confirmation of Henry II to Margam of grants made by the earls of Gloucester. c.1175-77) ; Ibid. II, no. 287 (King John's charter to Margam, 1205) ; Ibid. II. no. 349 (Confirmation of Countess Isabella. c.1216-17). For a full discussion of grants made to Margam in the twelfth century see Gray, T. (1909), pp. 129-44.

206. Clark, Cartae, II, no. 466.

207. Ibid, no. 614.

208. Ibid, no. 634.

209. Ibid, no. 318.

210. Ibid, IV, no. 963.

211. PRO., SC6/1202/5, printed in Hopkins (1988), pp. 30-4.

212. See above, chapter one, p.22.

213. Courtney (1994), p. 101.

214. Bradney, J.A. (1904-33) A History of Monmouthshire, III, part i. p. 49 ; Courtney (1994) loc. cit.

215. PRO., SC6/927/16 ; Minister's Account for the borough of Usk. 1314-15.

216. Courtney (1994), loc. cit.

217. Bradney, III, part i. p. 52 ; Calendar of Charter Rolls. III. p. 449.

218. British Library. Additional Charters. [1182] 5342 ; in Owen, E. (ed.) (1900) A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part 3. p. 660 ; the charter states that the priory was granted three burgages in Usk OR Striguil (Chepstow). It is not clear which was chosen, although Usk would seem most likely given the location of the priory.

219. Ibid.

220. See below. p. 117.

221. Baring-Gould, S. (1914) Lives of the Saints. XVI. p. 168 ; Bradney. III. pt. ii. pp. 209-10. Soulsby (1983), p. 87. This would offer an explanation for the very large enclosure of the church, fitting in with Geoffrey of Monmouth's rather grandiose claim that Caerleon had been "the metropolitan church of all Wales until that honour was translated by St. David to Menevia", quoted in Dugdale, W. (1846) Monasticon Anglicanum. Vol. V. p. 727.

222. See above, chapter one, pp. 19-20.

223. Ibid ; the stone may have been robbed from ruined Roman buildings; Boon, G.C. (1972) Isca, p. 13.

224. In some contemporary sources, Llantarnam is styled 'Caerleon Abbey', which has caused much confusion – not least the local tradition which claims that the building known as 'The Priory' on High Street was the site of a Cistercian Abbey. This tradition was reinforced by Dugdale who listed separate entries for Llantarnam and Caerleon in his Monasticon Anglicanum. Vol. V. p. 727. An example of such a reference is contained in the Charter Roll of 1252 which records that the "Cistercian monks of Karlyun were quit of payment of toll in Bristol...". Calendar of Charter Rolls. I. 1226-57. p. 402.

225. Calendar of Charter Rolls, II. 1257-1300. p. 360. This represents a confirmation by Gilbert the Red of a number of earlier charters. Aside from the two burgages, Goldcliff also held a number of churches in the surrounding area, fisheries in the Usk, tithe of the orchard of Caerleon, and an acre of land, see Ibid. pp. 358-63.

226. PRO., SC6/920/17.

227. See above, chapter one, passim.

228. The existence of a market in all six towns is clearly demonstrated in the various surviving Royal Extents, Ministers Accounts and Inquisitions Post Mortem.

229. Mention of markets in all six towns is made in the I.P.M of the Red Earl in 1295, for example; see Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III. no. 371.

230. Rees (1969), p. 51 ; the earliest reference to two markets at Usk dates from 1369, Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. XII. no. 321.

231. Schofield and Vince (1994), p. 18.

232. Clark, Cartae, IV. no. 1075. p. 1419.

233. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III. no. 371.

234. By 1340, this fair had been superseded by two fairs, held on the eve of St. John the Baptists Day (June 24) and the Feast at the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8); Rees (1969). p. 51.

235. Rees (1951), loc. cit. it's origins were much earlier than 1385, however; Reeves (1979), p. 118.

236. Gray, T. (1909), pp. 124-7.

237. The dates of the fairs at Usk and Caerleon are first mentioned in 1369 when there were two fairs in each town. Whether two fairs were held during the Clare period is unclear, but as the I.P.M's of the Red Earl, Countess Joan, and Earl Gilbert mention 'a fair' rather than 'fairs' in both towns, it would seem unlikely. Perhaps the fairs mentioned in the table replaced earlier once-yearly fairs as at Cardiff.

238. Ibid.

239. See above, chapter one, pp. 12-14.

240. PRO., Ancient Extents (Exchequer). E.142/88/7, printed in Clark. Cartae. II. no. 616 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. IV. no. 435. p. 322.

241. See above, chapter three, passim.

242. Most of the trades were in place prior to 1217, see Matthews, J.H. (1898) Cardiff Records. I. pp. 12-13 ; Clark, Cartae, I. no. 34. The existence of butchers is evidenced by the fact that the town hall of 1330 contained a shambles, or meat market, see Rees (1969), p. 57. For a comprehensive study of the medieval economy of England and Wales at this time see Postan, M.M. (1972) The Medieval Economy and Society, passim.

243. Rees (1969), p. 48 ; Matthews. Cardiff Records. I. pp. 264-5, 269.

244. See above, p. 95.

245. Ibid.

246. Walker (1978). p. 112 ; Smith, A.H. (1965) English Place Name Elements, part i. p. 112. Its origins may have been the Scandinavian 'Krókr', however.

247. Clark, Cartae, III. no. 737. The half burgage was located in Womanby Street. Shortly after the period in question, in 1317, reference is also made to a 'Robert the Carpenter', 'Richard the Barber', and 'Henry the Porter', providing further evidence of typical medieval trades and occupations at Cardiff. Ibid, III. p. 1052.

248. The glovers and cordwainers had established themselves into a guild shortly after the Clare period in 1324, indicating that they were well established crafts in the town. Matthews, Cardiff Records, III. pp. 342-3.

249. Rees (1969), p. 53 ; Scholfield and Vince (1994), pp. 99-127.

250. Clark, Cartae, II. no. 348.

251. See above, p. 90.

252. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1272-81. p. 354.

253. Calendar of Chancery Rolls (Various). 1277-1326. p. 279.

254. Rees (1969), p. 53 ; reference is made to Cardiff's role in a letter written by Edward I in 1297, see Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales. p. 212. The Great Custom was a duty imposed on the export of all staple products – wool, hide and leather.

255. Ibid. Edward's letter states that "the wool and hides of the counties of Wales are collected together in the chief town of each country, and also at Estrugoil, Kaerdif and Breghenok". No mention is made of Usk or any of the Clares' other Welsh towns fulfilling this role.

256. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1296-1302. pp. 390-1.

257. Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1272-81. pp. 13, 24 ; Walker (1978). p. 127.

258. Ibid.

259. Ibid. 1317-21. p. 74.

260. Clark, Cartae, III. no. 730.

261. Ibid. no. 738.

262. Matthews, Cardiff Records, III. p. 336.

263. Ibid. I, p. 16 ; Rees (1969), p. 49.

264. Rees (1969), pp. 49-50 ; Walker (1978), p. 126.

265. See above, chapter one, pp. 10-19.

266. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. V, no. 538. Reeves, A.C. (1979), p. 130.

267. Ibid, p. 116.

268. PRO., SC6/1202/1 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, loc. cit.

269. See above, p. 90.

270. Calendar of Chancery Rolls (Various), p. 279.

271. Courtney (1994), p. 117.

272. For the lack of a charter see above, chapter one, p. 17. The earliest known charter dates from 1385, see Rees (1951) Newport Charters, passim.

273. Ibid ; Courtney (1994), p. 117. This may, however, simply be a reflection of the poor survival of documentation.

274. See above, chapter one ; Mein, A.G. (1986), p. 20.

275. Courtney (1994), p. 97.

276. Ibid, p. 128. citing Clarke, S. pers. comm. based upon extensive fieldwalking over many years and comparison with the Monnow Street ceramic sequence.

277. Ibid, p. 128.

278. Undated extent for the borough of Usk, probably compiled following the death of Countess Maud ; Mein (1986). p. 86.

279. See above. pp. 97-99.

280. Schofield and Vince (1994). pp. 99-127.

281. Calendar of Chancery Rolls (Various). p. 279.

282. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371 ; Vol. IV, no. 435 ; Vol. V, no. 538 ; Mein (1986). p. 83.

283. Mein (1986) loc. cit.

284. See below, chapter six.

285. Courtney (1994) p. 117.

286. Griffiths, R.A. (1971) p. 350.

287. Merrick. Glamorgan Antiquities pp. 53-4.

288. PRO., SC6/1202/6 m.10 ; see Hopkins (1988) pp. 6-7 for a discussion of how the garrison at Neath could be scaled up and down.

289. See above, pp. 96-100.

290. Printed in Gray, T. (1909) pp. 156-74. They received a number of later additions, primarily in the Elizabethan period.

291. Ibid.

292. Ibid, p. 164, item 40.

293. See above. p. 110.

294. See above, pp. 91-2.

295. Courtney (1994), p. 117.

296. Usk was listed as port in a Close Roll of 1324, but this must be regarded with caution. By the end of the eighteenth century the river Usk was only navigable as far as the New Bridge on the north side of Caerleon while the predominantly local ceramic assemblage suggests that if Usk was reached by boats in the medieval period, it was not by sea-going vessels. Indeed, in the sixteenth century, iron from the Monkswood works near Usk was carried overland for shipment from Caerleon. Calendar of Close Rolls. 1323-7. p. 125 ; PRO., E134/22/12/Trinity 4 ; Courtney (1994) p. 114.

297. Calendar of Chancery Rolls (Various), p. 279.

298. An "Aron son of Josseus of Karleun, the Jew" is mentioned in a bond of 1261 ; Calendar of Ancient Deeds. Vol. III. p. 347 ; in 1278 reference is made to "David de Karleon, a Jew" ; Calendar of Fine Rolls. Vol. I 1272-1307. p. 93.

299. As royal chattels, the medieval Jewry were prevented form owning and inheriting land and so were drawn to occupations such as mercantile trading and money lending. Indeed, the statute of 1275 forbid Jews to lend money at interest and instead encouraged them to become traders, artisans and even agriculturists. Powicke, M. (1962) The Thirteenth Century, p. 322 ; for a considered history of the Jews in the middle ages see Roth, C. (1941) A History of the Jews in England, and idem (1951) The Jews of Medieval Oxford, passim.

300. See above. p. 111.

301. Ibid.

302. See above ; Clark, Cartae, II. no. 614. pp. 648-9.

303. PRO., SC6/1202/5 ; Hopkins (1988), p. 11.

304. Courtney (1994), p. 117.

305. Gray, T. (1909), p. 160, item 16.

306. Clark. Cartae, IV. no. 1074. p. 1413.

307. Ibid. IV. no. 1075. p. 1420.

308. The figures, form 1316, are low due to the rebellion of Llywelyn Bren.

309. 'Issues' includes farms and court profits which are not listed separately.

310. The figure for Cardiff is actually quite low as in 1295 it stood at £104 10s 0d. ; Matthews, Cardiff Records, I, p. 265.

311. PRO., SC6/1202/1.

312. Griffiths, R.A. (1971). p. 350.

313. See above, p. 86.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NEW TOWNS OF THE CLARES

The question of the encouragement of urban development in the lordships held by the Clares does not lie solely with those six towns inherited by the family as part of their acquisition of their Welsh lordships during the thirteenth century. Important as these urban centres undoubtedly were, the period of Clare lordship also gave rise to a second, equally significant class of towns; the four boroughs of Cowbridge, Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly which were actually founded, rather than inherited, by the Clares. If the true nature of the attitude of the family towards urban settlement is to be properly understood, a detailed appreciation of their own foundations is essential. The circumstances of the foundation of these 'new' towns have been explained in the discussion of the pattern of administration which the Clares brought to bear upon their Welsh lands.[1] As will be remembered, the mid-thirteenth century was a period which saw noticeable consolidation on the part of the earls of Gloucester, not only within their initial inheritance of Glamorgan, but also in the extension of their landed interest into the old Marshal lordship of Netherwent.[2] One of the many consequences of this territorial aggrandisement was, of course, a spate of urban implantations which began with the foundation of Cowbridge and Trelech shortly after 1245, continued with the establishment of Llantrisant by 1262, and was completed by the implantation of Caerphilly during the early 1270s.[3] The following half-century was a period which saw a widely different picture of evolution emerge among these four towns, a process which shall now be explored in some detail.

FOUNDATION AND THE CHOICE OF SITE

Of the four towns founded by the Clares during the thirteenth century, Cowbridge is the most readily identifiable in terms of the date of foundation. Earlier it was explained how the sub-lordships of Llanbleddian and Talyfan, in which Cowbridge lay, were confiscated from Richard Siward by Earl Richard in 1245 and added to the earl's demesne lands.[4] Shortly after his appropriation of the area, Richard de Clare formally instigated the new town of Cowbridge which was incorporated by charter in 1245. This charter has since been lost, but it was confirmed in a later charter granted by Richard Beauchamp in 1421 and is referred to in a survey of 1570 which states that

> "... Sir Richard de Clare did grant unto Cowbridge all such liberties as Cardiff held by a charter bearing the date the 13th day of March in the 38th year of Henry III".[5]

Questions have been raised regarding the possibility that some form of settlement existed on the site of the town prior to 1245. There was certainly settlement on the site during the Roman period, but there is no evidence of continuity of settlement through the early middle ages and into the post-conquest period, let alone a formally planted town.[6] Consequently, it would seem fair to state that the origins of the borough of Cowbridge lay with Richard de Clare seizing the opportunity to increase his revenues from the newly acquired lordships, and impress his superiority upon the surrounding area.[7]

The site chosen by Earl Richard for his new venture conformed to many of the general principles of medieval urban implantation. Chief amongst these considerations, however, was access to communication and trade routes, as the town was laid out astride the 'Port Way' at the point at which it approached the crossing of the River Thaw.[8] As David Robinson correctly identified, "the road itself was probably the major factor influencing the choice of site".[9] Cowbridge, as will be demonstrated later, was established as a marketing centre first and foremost, and the road was thus essential to the economic development of the borough. Indeed, it was this economic motivation which undoubtedly led to the chosen site being so close to the crossing point of the river (see figure eighteen). A river crossing in an inland area has a tendency to become a focus for local routes on either side of the waterway in much the same way that a coastal port draws inland roads to itself.[10] For traffic wishing to cross a river, the choice of available crossing places was limited and thus when an available crossing place incorporated a major trading route, as at Cowbridge, there was much in the way of economic opportunity to be exploited.[11]

In addition to the importance of access to trading and communication links, a further feature common in the choice of a site for a medieval town was for the borough to be located on the edge of the boundaries of a parish.[12] This convention was followed for a number of practical reasons. Initial agrarian settlement usually occurred at the centre of a parish and as cultivation extended away from the village, the last land to be cultivated would have been located at the boundaries. Although this was generally used for commoning animals, the founder was more willing to forgo the rent of this land than to sacrifice a food growing area.[13] This desire to sacrifice the least productive land was compounded by the fact that the roads and rivers so vital to the town's economic life were often located along the boundaries of the parish; indeed, they sometimes were the boundaries.[14] Cowbridge followed this pattern in as much as it was located at the edge of the parish of Llanbleddian. Covering an area of only some 96 acres (39ha), the borough constituted slightly less than two percent of the entire land within the parish, and therefore impinged little upon Earl Richard's newly acquired agrarian estates.[15]

At much the same time that Earl Richard was choosing a suitable site and founding his new town of Cowbridge, he appears also to have undertaken a similar development in the newly acquired lordship of Usk.[16] A small motte and bailey castle had been constructed at Trelech at some point during the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, although it is not documented until 1231, and following his inheritance of the lordship in 1245 Earl Richard appears to have initiated the development of a town alongside it.[17] Archaeological excavations undertaken in the town between 1991 and 1993 have indicated that some settlement had occurred near the castle before 1245, a small dwelling with a central hearth having been uncovered which is estimated to date to c.1200-1230.[18] Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the extent of this settlement from this single dwelling alone, but the fact that no documentary reference survives mentioning its existence would lead one to conclude that it was likely to have been extremely limited and undeserving of the title of being a town. Consequently, it can be claimed that the initiation of true urban settlement on the site was a deliberate creation of the resourceful and determined Richard de Clare. Unfortunately, unlike Cowbridge, no firm

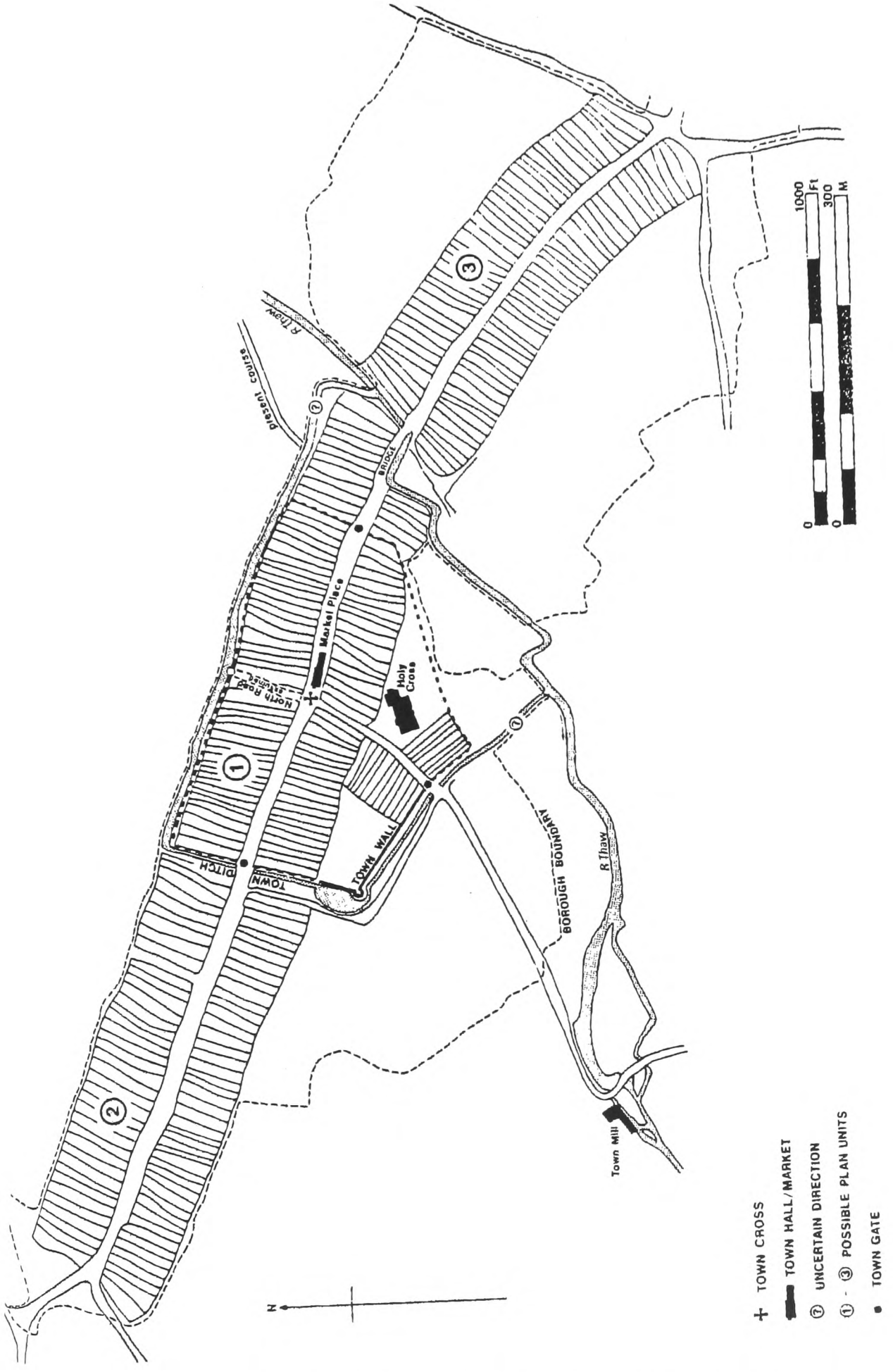


FIGURE EIGHTEEN : A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF COWBRIDGE c.1314 SHOWING POSSIBLE 'PLANNED UNITS' (AFTER ROBINSON, 1980)

date of foundation can be attributed for Trelech as it received no known charter, but archaeological evidence suggests that industrial activity was occurring on the site soon after the acquisition of the area by de Clare.[19]

The site chosen by de Clare for this second speculative urban venture contrasts sharply with the classic pattern seen at Cowbridge. Located on a small plateau in the eastern reaches of Usk lordship, Trelech was laid out in a rectangular area formed by the River Olway to the south, the Penarth brook to the west and ditches to the north and east.[20] By all the conventional criteria discussed by Beresford, Trelech represents a most unlikely location for a medieval town.[21] Landlocked, as the Olway was in no way navigable, and located well away from the major land-based commercial and communication links, Trelech at first glance appears gravely unsuited to perform the conventional role of the town as the centre of commercial activity for its locality. As Raymond Howell rightly states, however, the economy of the Clare lordships in southern Wales during the thirteenth century was not conventional.[22] In the course of the introductory section of this thesis it was explained how the thirteenth century represented a period of political and administrative consolidation on the part of the Clares in their Welsh lordships.[23] The implantation of towns in newly acquired areas, and particularly areas of the Welshry, was one means of achieving this desired consolidation and Trelech was but one example of this policy of increasing Marcher authority.[24]

Important as this administrative role undoubtedly was, the apparently unlikely location of Trelech actually appears to have been selected by de Clare and his planners to perform an equally significant role as a strategic economic centre. In the previous chapter, it was clearly demonstrated that none of the six towns inherited by the family during the thirteenth century offered a truly safe centre away from Welsh attack, while the three other towns founded by the Clares during the thirteenth century must also have appeared vulnerable. Trelech, however, was different. Located high on a plateau in perhaps the most secure area of the Clares' Welsh domains close to the English border, it offered a 'safe Welsh bastion'.[25] The importance of this was twofold. In the first instance it could act as the 'caput de Clare' in time of widespread unrest which might threaten the existing centres of Cardiff and Usk.[26] Secondly, as shall be discussed later in this chapter, it was ideally suited as an industrial centre, producing iron to support the Clares' continuing initiatives in Wales.[27] For this role the site not only benefited from being away from the areas of most conflict, but it was also well placed to be supplied with iron ore from the Forest of Dean and charcoal from the wooded uplands which surrounded the borough.[28]

Earl Richard de Clare can also be credited with the foundation of a third inplanted borough in his Welsh lordships before his death in 1262. Following his aggressive policies against the semi-independent lordships of blaenau Morgannwg, de Clare immediately appreciated the need for a military and administrative centre for the appropriated commotes of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda.[29] The first step in this process was the construction of a castle at Llantrisant as early as 1246, which was supplemented by the foundation of a small dependent borough at some point between then and 1262.[30] The actual date of foundation is unknown, and no charter was bestowed upon the town until 1346 when

it received the liberties of Cardiff.[31] Nevertheless, some form of small settlement was in place by 1262, when 13s 4d. was returned in annual rent.[32]

The site chosen for this administrative castle-borough was clearly selected to dominate the surrounding area, as it was located upon the summit of a hill immediately to the north of the juncture of the Clun and Ely rivers.[33] Military considerations were apparently paramount in the choice of location, and thus the economic motivations seen in their purest form at Cowbridge played little part. Neither of the rivers which met at the foot of the hill were navigable, while the elevated site meant that it did not benefit from being placed upon a major land based trade route. In spite of the overwhelmingly defensive nature of the site, however, there is good reason to suppose that it was not virgin in terms of previous settlement. The Royal Survey made in 1262 suggests that the population of the fledgling town was overwhelmingly Welsh in ethnic origin, as there was not a single English burgess amongst the twelve jurors of the borough and lordship of Llantrisant named in the document.[34] This, combined with the fact that the Church of Saints Illtyd, Tyfodwg and Gwyno, which served as the borough church, pre-dated the castle and retained its Celtic dedications, serves to suggest that the 'new' town referred to in 1262 was actually a reorganised native Welsh tref.[35]

The final borough founded by the Clare family in their Welsh lordships was initiated by Gilbert 'the Red' during the course of his imposition of seignorial authority upon the commotal lordship of Senghenydd.[36] In much the same manner seen at Llantrisant, albeit on a much larger scale, a castle was built at Caerphilly to dominate the southern area of the lordship, Is-Caiach, and the approaches to Cardiff.[37] Largely complete by 1272, the castle was soon joined by a small town which grew up outside the east barbican. Once again, however, it is not possible to attribute an accurate date of foundation, not least because the town never appears to have been formally incorporated as a borough during the middle ages.[38] The earliest surviving reference to its existence dates from 1296, but its origins were probably much earlier.[39] The site chosen for Caerphilly, like Llantrisant, was obviously determined by military considerations. However, the location of Caerphilly differed in as much as the chosen site was low lying, being placed at the bottom of a steep sided basin where the Nant Gledyr joins the Porset Brook.[40] To the south it was bounded by Caerphilly mountain and to the north by Mynydd Eglwysilan.[41] This position meant that it was apparently well served by communications links. It lay upon the course of the Roman road which ran from Cardiff to Gelligaer, and excavations undertaken in 1963 uncovered traces of a first century A.D. Auxiliary fort some 90 metres to the north west of the castle.[42] While this north-south route must have represented the main artery, a number of smaller ways and fords ran to the east and west into the valleys of the rivers Taff and Rhymney.[43] Above all, however, the site was probably chosen because alone amongst the hilly geography of Is-Caiach it provided the sole tract of fertile land which was of sufficient size to support the enormous castle and its implanted colony.[44] Regarding previous settlement on the site, no evidence has emerged to suggest that it served as a native Welsh centre between the Roman period and the building of the castle, but this should not mean that Professor Rees' view that it may have been the site of a llys of the lords of Senghenydd be dismissed out of hand.[45]

The sites chosen by the de Clare earls of Gloucester for the foundation of their four newly implanted towns in the mid-thirteenth century were thus considerably varied. While all four towns were founded within a forty year period, the motivations behind each were clearly different. Llantrisant and Caerphilly were perfect examples of the military/administrative 'castle borough', Cowbridge displayed the requirements of a specifically designed trading centre, while Trelech reflects an apparent singularity of purpose unseen elsewhere in the Clare domains. As with the towns inherited by the Clares, the sites chosen for their 'new towns' would have a decisive role to play in their ultimate success or failure as urban centres.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNS

Before turning to a discussion of the relative success, or otherwise, of these newly implanted towns, it is important to ensure that the form taken by them in terms of layout and infrastructural development is fully understood. As was demonstrated in the earlier discussion of the six inherited towns, it was the topography and infrastructure which provided the framework around which a town could evolve.[46] Indeed, the importance of a well chosen site is shown nowhere more clearly than in this aspect of urban development, for the nature of the site played a central role in determining the layout of the town itself.

Turning firstly to Cowbridge, of which most is known in terms of its medieval layout, it soon becomes clear that the borough quickly emerged as a fairly well developed urban centre. In terms of its defensive provisions, Cowbridge was highly unusual in as much as there was no castle attached to the borough. In this respect Cowbridge was unique amongst the Clares' Welsh towns, and was in fact one of only eight implanted English towns in the whole of Wales to be lacking such a feature.[47] The area was hardly undefended, however, as a number of strong castles (including Llantrisant) encircled the Vale of Glamorgan, guarding the approaches to the town from the north, east and west.[48] Indeed, there is also the strong possibility that an earlier stronghold stood on the site of fourteenth century Llanbleddian castle some half a mile from the town.[49] However, the fact that Gilbert fitz Gilbert de Clare was building, or rebuilding, Llanbleddian castle at the time of his death in 1314 suggests that it was felt that additional defensive measures were required some sixty years after the foundation of the borough.[50]

While there was no adjacent castle at Cowbridge, the borough did have defensive features. By the close of the Clare period, it is clear that Cowbridge possessed a complete circuit of stone walls enclosing an area of approximately 13.5 acres (5.5 ha) (see figure eighteen).[51] The actual date of construction of these walls has, however, been the subject of much debate. A surviving section of the south west wall and the South Gate have been dated to the early fourteenth century, suggesting that they were built either as a response to the revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd in 1294-5 or to the revolt of Llywelyn Bren from 1314 to 1316.[52] The justification for attributing the defences to this period is unclear, however, for as Jack Spurgeon observes there are no apparent features in the surviving defences which point conclusively to early fourteenth century construction.[53] Indeed, to accept this date for the construction of the walls is to accept that only a small area of the town was walled, for, as

shall be seen, by that date the town covered an area far in excess of 13.5 acres.[54] If the stone defences were erected at this late date, they would surely have enclosed a much wider area of the town, particularly as there is no evidence for any earlier earthen defences.[55] For this reason, especially when one remembers the absence of a castle, it would seem much more likely that the walls were in existence in some form from the inception of the borough and that they were quickly outgrown by the rapidly expanding town.[56] The circuit of walls at Cowbridge were originally some 25 feet (7.6 m) in height and possessed an internal walkway 14 feet (4.27 m) wide.[57] The walls were supplemented by a ditch, which town records suggest held water.[58] The ditch would seem to have extended further than the walls, however, possibly as far as the river, to enclose a total area of c.21 acres.[59] If the ditch was designed to hold water from the outset, however, then these apparent extensions (see figure eighteen) may well represent leets needed to keep the ditch full. A section of the wall and ditch was exposed during building work, and their construction appeared to suggest that they were contemporary with each other.[60]

The walled area of the town was entered by means of four gates located at the cardinal points of the compass (see figure eighteen). The main portals were the East and West Gates which were set at either end of the High Street; the enclosed section of the 'Port Way'.[61] The North Gate was much smaller, a survey made in 1630 referred to the road which led from it as being a 'footway'.[62] Indeed, when John Leland visited Cowbridge in c.1536-39 he failed to notice this gate, suggesting that it served little purpose beyond giving access to the meadowlands which lay to the north of the town.[63] Today, only the South Gate, the Porth y Felin, survives; the sole extant medieval gate in Glamorgan.[64] Of less importance than the East and West Gates but a good deal more substantial than the North Gate, the Porth y Felin, as its name would suggest, led south from the borough to the town mill which was located on the banks of the River Thaw.[63]

The market place lay within this area enclosed by the circuit of walls. Despite the fact that Cowbridge was a late foundation, there is no indication that the town possessed a primary marketplace of the type seen at Usk. Rather, like the early foundations of Cardiff and Newport, the market area was located in the High Street itself which does not even display the characteristic widening seen in many towns.[66] In the centre of the market area stood the Market Cross, Town Hall, and Market Hall which remained until their removal c.1800.[67] The origins of these structures are not evidenced, however, which makes it difficult to say whether such buildings stood during the Clare period or not. Reference is made to a 'Guild Hall' in the Cowbridge Ordinances which, like those of Kenfig, have their origins in the fourteenth century.[68] This would suggest that some form of Hall stood in the town from an early date, but without further evidence it is not possible to say conclusively that it stood in the Clare era.

An important topographical feature of medieval Cowbridge was the bridge. The River Thaw, then as now, was only a small river which was easily fordable at the point where the town was founded. Nevertheless, the importance of the 'Port Way' – which had seen bridges constructed at Cardiff and Newport to allow it to cross the Taff and Usk —meant that an existing Roman structure spanning the Thaw is likely to have been refurbished or built anew during the immediate post-conquest period, and

certainly no later than the founding of the town.[69] It was the existence of this bridge in 1245 which must have acted as an important influence upon the choice of site.[70]

A further important structure within the topography and infrastructure of a medieval town was a mill, and the existence of one at Cowbridge has already been alluded to in the discussion of the South Gate, known as 'Porth y Felin', or 'Mill Gate', which led to the town mill (see figure eighteen).[71] Located on the northern bank of the river some considerable distance from the town walls, this mill appears to have fulfilled the needs of the townspeople throughout the period in question. Unlike other large towns such as Cardiff and Usk, which were served by a number of mills, Cowbridge appears to have only possessed a single mill.[72] Evidence for other seigneurial erections in the town is minimal. A fishery is referred to at Llanbleddian in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Countess Joan in 1307, but no mention is made of a weir or fishery at Cowbridge itself.[73] Similarly, there is no explicit reference to a bakehouse within the borough, but in common with other implanted towns such a provision is likely to have been made by Earl Richard.

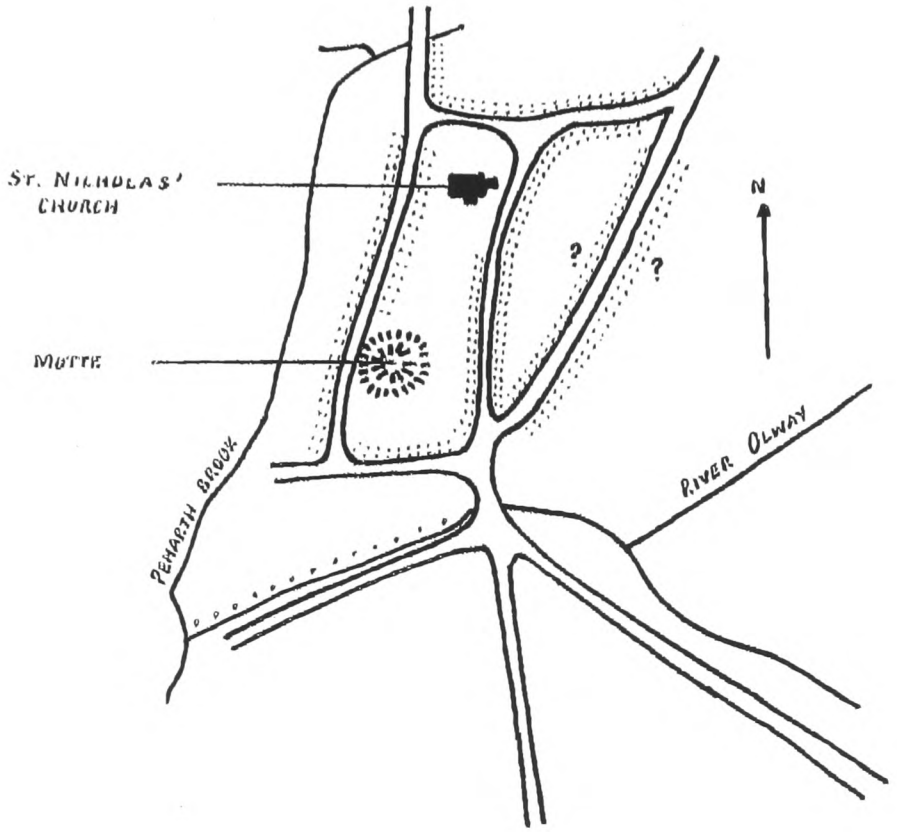
At Trelech, the second of the Clares' great urban foundations of the thirteenth century, the relative lack of documentary evidence for the period means that the nature of much of the infrastructural and topographical development of the town is only slowly being revealed by the ongoing archaeological excavations on the site.[74] This means that any discussion at present must still rely heavily upon conjecture, particularly in comparison with the well evidenced picture for Cowbridge. Nevertheless, a rather rudimentary explanation can still be put forward. Turning firstly to the question of defensive provision it is interesting to note that, unlike Cowbridge, Trelech possessed a castle. As has been seen, the castle pre-dated the town, possibly by a considerable margin. It appears to have been maintained for most of the thirteenth century and, as has been noted, housed the receivership of Usk lordship between 1266 and 1289.[75] By the early fourteenth century it seems to have been abandoned, as in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Countess Joan in 1307 it is simply referred to as "the site of an old castle".[76] The precise reason for this is undocumented, but the most logical explanation would be that it was destroyed by Morgan ap Maredudd in his assault on the town in 1295.[77] In addition to the existing motte and bailey castle, the 'Twmp Terret' as it is known locally, there is some evidence to suggest that the town was defended by the traditional earthen bank and wooden palisade seen in a number of the Clares' inherited towns.[78] This theory turns upon the existence of a bank and ditch on the north side and a slight bank in the south-west corner of the proposed enclosure which, it is assumed, originally continued right around the town. Unless physical survey or limited excavation uncovers evidence of further banks and ditches elsewhere around the perimeter of the town, it is impossible to say if the borough was fully enclosed by a defensive line, or simply defended by limited stretches of earthworks.[79] The likelihood must be for the former, however, as there is no obvious strategic reason for limited stretches of banks. What can be said with some confidence though, is that Trelech did not develop stone defences.[80]

Despite this persistent question mark against the existence of borough defences at Trelech, it is clear from the little primary documentation which has survived that the town possessed the other dominant topographical feature of a medieval borough – a marketplace.[81] The physical location of the

marketplace within the town is unknown for, as will shortly be discussed, our knowledge of the internal layout of the town is rather limited.[82] Certainly, no evidence has yet come to light to suggest the existence of a primary marketplace, which one might expect given Trelech's late date of foundation.[83] Of course, further excavation of the site of the medieval town may prove that this was indeed the case, but given the situation at contemporary Cowbridge it is equally likely that it was held in one of the main streets of the town, probably the presumed 'High Street' which ran north-south to the east of the church (see figure nineteen). Also lacking is any reference to a Market Hall or Town Hall in medieval Trelech, but as shall be seen this is hardly surprising given the pattern of economic development taken by the borough.[84]

The problem of identifying the location of many of the features of medieval Trelech becomes apparent again with the question of the town mill. Indeed, a question mark must be placed against the existence of a mill designed specifically to serve the borough as there is no reference to such a construction in the Inquisitions Post Mortem or the surviving Ministers Accounts.[85] A number of mills are mentioned in the surrounding area, at Trelech manor, Gryll, Wytebrok and Llandissen, and it may have been the case that the townspeople used those at Trelech manor.[86] If the town itself did not possess a mill of its own, however, this was highly unusual, particularly when one considers that the town was provided by water on all four sides, giving a ready source of power. While Trelech may have lacked a town mill, there is some evidence to suggest that the seigneurial role in providing a basic infrastructure was not entirely lacking. In the Inquisition Post Mortem compiled after the death of Earl Gilbert in 1314, reference is made to a "bakehouse let at rent".[87] Usually such a feature would have represented something of an early development in a town, being a part of the basic infrastructure required by a new settlement. Yet in Trelech the bakehouse is unmentioned before 1314, which would suggest that it either went unnoticed in the Inquisitions made in 1295 and 1307, or that it was initiated by Gilbert himself towards the end of the Clare period. Of other seigneurial constructions at Trelech, however, the sources are silent. No explicit reference is made to a brewhouse or a fishery within the borough. References are made to fisheries and weirs in the nearby Wye, however, and banks defining fish ponds are still clearly visible on the southern approaches to the town today.[88] This would seem to suggest that fishing was prominent in the borough, despite the silence of the documentary evidence.[89] The poor survival of documentary evidence from this period for Trelech means that great care must be taken not to make sweeping statements, particularly as the ongoing archaeology on the site may yet yield interesting discoveries concerning this aspect of the town's development. Yet it would seem fair to state that, on existing evidence, the topography and infrastructure was somewhat underdeveloped during this period. This is particularly surprising for as shall be seen, the town was hardly an insignificant development.

Turning to the two smaller foundations of Llantrisant and Caerphilly, a number of similarities emerge in terms of infrastructure and topography. At Llantrisant, the castle together with the natural defensive attributes of the hill-top location appear to have been considered sufficient to protect the new



Key

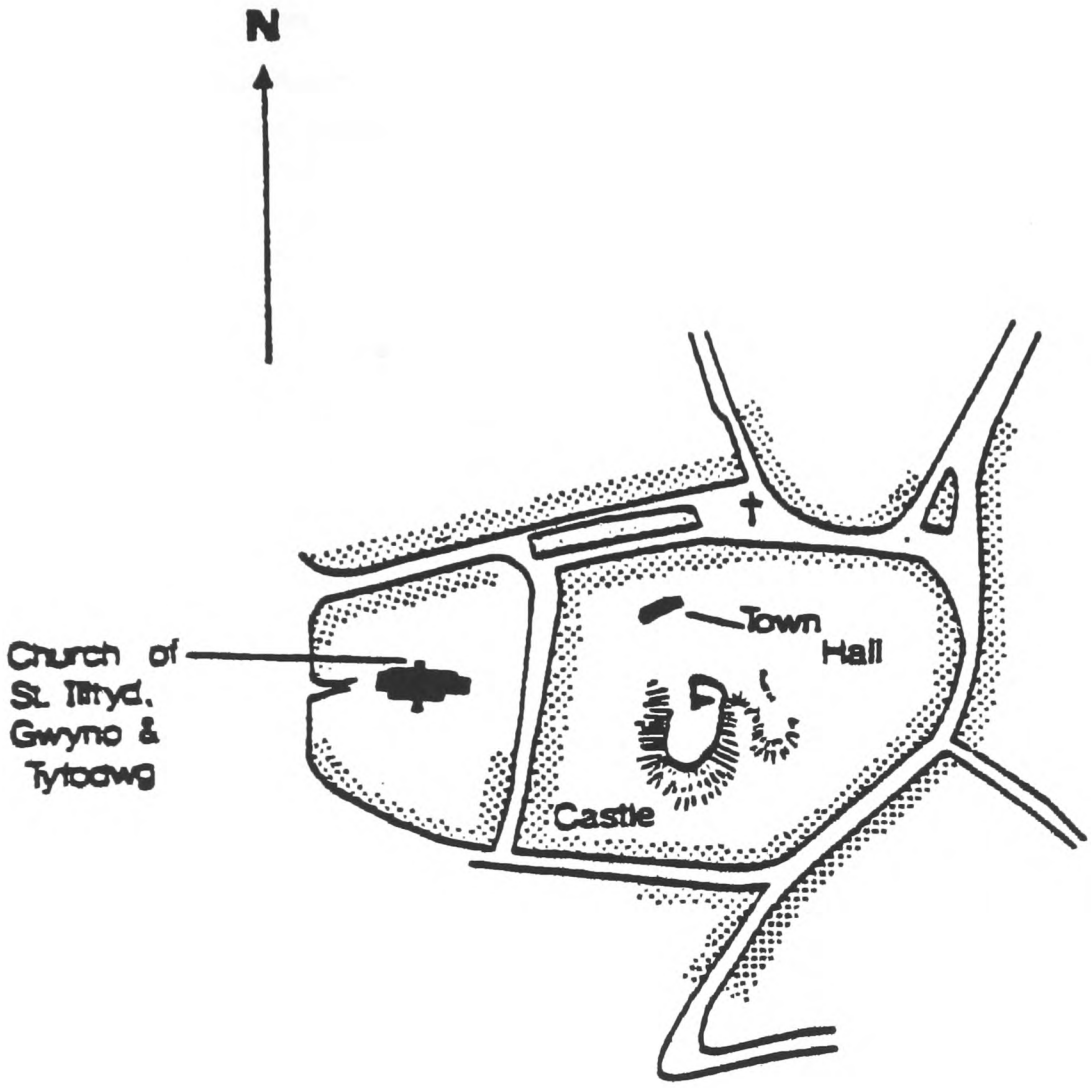
—— Town defences, extant
---- ", course of
.... ", conjectural course
⁞⁞⁞⁞ Built-up areas

FIGURE NINETEEN : TRELECH c.1314

implantation, as the town lacks any visible remains or documentary evidence for man-made defences.[90] If this was the case, the faith placed in the natural location of the site proved mis-placed as Llantrisant suffered two destructive Welsh attacks in 1294-5 and 1314-6.[91] Considering the highly vulnerable location of Llantrisant as the administrative centre of the recently seized commotes of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda, it is highly likely that some form of fortifications, so far undiscovered, would have protected the town. Only archaeological excavation would confirm such a suspicion.[92]

At Caerphilly, the question of urban defences is somewhat complicated by the fact that the exact location of the medieval town has been the subject of some debate. In his history of Caerphilly castle, William Rees suggested that the borough lay adjoining the south side of the castle (present day Cardiff Road).[93] For the town to have been founded here, however, it would have been necessary to ignore the natural protection of the Porset Brook and Nant Gledyr. Thus, Beresford suggests it would be more logical to place the town outside the East Barbican of the castle where these natural defences would be better utilised (see figure twenty one).[94] This makes particular sense when one realises that the East Barbican was the main entrance to the castle.[95] Obviously, the immense concentric castle offered a strong defensive measure in itself, providing shelter for the townspeople in time of attack. This may also explain why there is no documentary evidence or visible remains for actual town defences at Caerphilly, although Rees claimed it was "enclosed by a ditch or a wall".[96] Once again, the vulnerable location of the town, which led to two destructive attacks in 1294-5 and 1314-16, would have made defensive provision extremely desirable.[97] Whether this would have taken the form of a wall is debatable, but at the very least some form of earthwork may have been constructed.

Within the boundaries of the two smaller boroughs were a number of topographical and infrastructural features common to towns of similar size during the period. Both possessed marketplaces, that at Llantrisant to the north of the castle (see figure twenty), and its counterpart at Caerphilly in the southern end of the presumed area of the town (see figure twenty one). Both, in terms of their shape, size and location, have the appearance of being specifically designed primary market places.[98] In this respect, Llantrisant and Caerphilly were typical of their era, but rather unusual in the narrower context of the Clares' Welsh towns. As has been seen, of the other eight towns held by the family during this period, only Usk possessed this feature while, surprisingly, Cowbridge and Trelech maintained the older tradition of the market developing within a main street. The manner in which the marketplaces of Llantrisant and Caerphilly developed during the Clare period is not attested to in the surviving primary documentation. Only Llantrisant, however, appears to have followed the pattern seen in a number of other towns by developing a Market Hall, either during the period in question or in the later middle ages.[99] At Llantrisant, unusually, the Town Hall was built in the castle bailey at some point during the medieval period, until it was replaced by the present structure in 1773 (see figure twenty).[100] It lay some distance from the marketplace, but in its original form it contained the corn market suggesting that the economic life of the town stretched further than the marketplace itself.[101] Of the date of construction of the first structure on this site nothing is known, making it difficult to say if it was an innovation of the Clare period or a later development. Considering the available evidence



Key

⁝⁝⁝	Built-up areas
*	Excavates sites
(s)	Site of lost features
†	market-place
——	Town defences, extant
- - - -	", course of
. . . .	", conjectural course

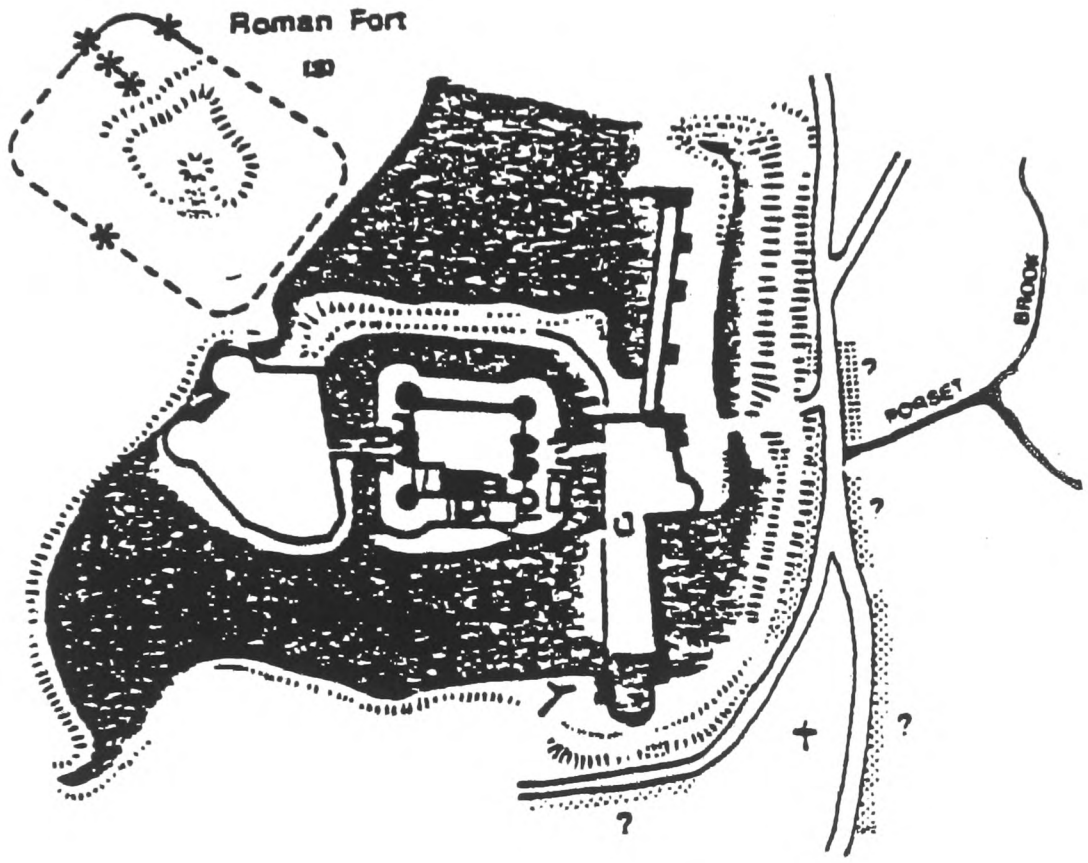
FIGURE TWENTY : LLANTRISANT c.1314 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

for other towns which developed a similar feature, such as Cardiff, Neath, Kenfig and Cowbridge, one must conclude that it is likely to date after 1314.[102] No such building appears to have been constructed at Caerphilly at any time during the medieval period, suggesting that its marketplace never developed the more sophisticated features of most of the other towns of interest here. As shall be seen from the forthcoming discussion of the town's economic development, this was hardly surprising.

The relatively underdeveloped nature of the infrastructure of Llantrisant and Caerphilly in terms of town defences and marketing features is also seen in other areas of the towns' topography. Mills were in place at Caerphilly by the end of the thirteenth century, consisting of a mill for grinding corn within the castle and a fulling mill at the foot of the castle wall, positioned to take advantage of the outlet of the water from the castle lake.[103] Both were seignorial constructions and the corn mill, in particular, was a valuable source of income being valued at £5 in the Inquisition of Countess Joan in 1307.[104] Llantrisant, like Trelech, does not appear to have been served by a town mill during this period, however. Its hilltop location away from the immediate vicinity of streams and rivers obviously precluded the erection of water powered mills, but windmills of the type evidenced at Kenfig would have been possible.[105] Presumably the inhabitants were forced either to use the mills of nearby manorial settlements or else had developed their own milling facilities independently of the lord.[106]

Unfortunately, the surviving primary source material provides little clue to the existence of other typical topographical features of the medieval town at Llantrisant and Caerphilly. No reference is made to a bakehouse in either town, although this should not be taken to mean that neither possessed such a feature. At Llantrisant, however, there is consistent reference to brewing in the town in the early fourteenth century which may suggest the existence of some form of brewhouse.[107] A similar state of affairs may also have existed at Caerphilly, but the sources are regrettably silent once more. One feature which Caerphilly certainly did possess, however, was a fishery. As opposed to the river-based fisheries and weirs seen in a number of the other towns, however, that at Caerphilly took the form of a fishpond which adjoined the castle, being described as the 'vivario' in 1296.[108] No such feature is mentioned at Llantrisant, but given the geographic location of the town this is hardly surprising.

In terms of infrastructure and topographical development, the towns founded by the Clares in the thirteenth century can, by 1314, be seen to have adopted many of the basic requirements common to most towns of the period. Unfortunately, the lack of surviving evidence means that a certain amount of the possible infrastructure of the towns remains shrouded, something which might only be rectified through archaeological investigation. Nevertheless, it is still possible to see that the four new foundations had all acquired a basic infrastructure which reflected their size, status and intended role, and around which their anticipated growth could occur.



Key

⁞⁞⁞	Built-up areas	—	Town defences, extant
*	Excavates sites	- - - -	", course of
(s)	Site of lost features	. . . .	", conjectural course
†	market-place		

FIGURE TWENTY ONE : CAERPHILLY c.1314 (AFTER SOULSBY, 1983)

HOUSES STREETS AND SUBURBS

The infrastructure of the town, in the form of its defences, marketplace, mills, bridges and other constructions within its boundaries, was in effect the framework around which the fabric of the settlement could develop. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the fabric of the town was represented above all by the burgages, streets, and suburbs for it was here that the townspeople lived and worked.[109] Without a close consideration of the way in which these features developed beyond mere burgage totals alone, a proper understanding of how the four new foundations evolved is simply not possible.

This is especially true of Cowbridge, where development and expansion during the middle ages has been the subject of a good deal of research over the past twenty years. The documentary evidence which survives from the period of Clare lordship demonstrates that it was an era of noticeable growth, particularly in the thirteenth century. In 1262-63 the borough yielded fixed rents of £2 19s 0d per annum, a total which suggests that Cowbridge contained some 59 burgage tenements.[110] The growth experienced by the town over the next thirty years was extraordinary, however, as in 1296 there were some 233 burgages.[111] The burgage total continued to expand, albeit more slowly, up until 1307 when a reported 276¾ plots were occupied.[112] This would appear to represent Cowbridge's pinnacle in terms of growth during the Clare period, as after this point the burgage total levelled off with the same 276¾ burgages evidenced in 1314.[113] It is clear, therefore, that Cowbridge quickly represented a significant urban centre with a population somewhere in the region of 1,400 people.[114] How was this relatively large population, in the context of medieval Wales, accommodated at Cowbridge, however? Fortunately the street plan of medieval Cowbridge has been largely preserved in the central area of the modern town, and this makes it relatively simple to reconstruct the layout during the Clare period. What becomes immediately apparent is that Cowbridge is a classic example of a linear development, something quite different in nature from the grid-like plantations inherited by the Clares during the same period.[115] As has been mentioned, the main road or 'Port Way' was the major factor in the siting of the town, and this itself formed the main artery of the town which was known as High Street (see figure eighteen).[116] It is important to realise, however, that the High Street was not the sole thoroughfare in the town, as a second street left the centre of the town and veered south towards the mill and Llanbleddian (see figure eighteen).[117] During the medieval period this was referred to as 'Rood Street' but its importance appears to have been limited and, consequently, it was always narrow.[118] At the point where Rood Street met the High Street, it is highly likely that a further minor road ran northwards, possibly exiting the defences via a presumed small North Gate.[119] This would suggest that the town of Cowbridge was originally laid out in a rectangular manner within the walls, with the streets forming a cross roughly at the centre.[120] As the town became more established, however, the north-south route was dwarfed in importance by the economic significance of the High Street and thus had very little influence upon the final topography of the borough.[121]

Consequently, Cowbridge adopted what Butler has termed a 'market-based plan', where the shape of the settlement is dependent upon the dominant feature.[122] All commercial traffic of importance would have travelled to the market at Cowbridge along the Port Way, and as a consequence

there was very little development beyond the parcel of burgage plots on either side of this road.[123] This led Beresford to state that linear developments of this type displayed less ambition than grid-plan towns which, by their very nature, suggest the expectancy of continued development and settlement. In the linear settlement, he contended, there was very little scope for development once the burgage plots alongside the marketplace were taken up.[124] This was certainly not the case at Cowbridge, however, as the burgage plots continued to extend increasingly beyond the original limits of the market place in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as is clearly shown in figure eighteen.[125]

It is the pattern of development taken by these burgage plots along the High Street which has stimulated most debate amongst historians, and which has been fully explored by David Robinson in his discussion of the archaeology and topography of medieval Cowbridge.[126] In the course of this work, two models were put forward for the manner in which the town grew during the Clare period. One possibility was that the town expanded as a result of spontaneous growth. In such a model little planning would have been required beyond the most basic elements, and while the burgage plots themselves would probably have been of a more or less standard size the determining factor would have been the pull of the marketplace.[127] Once the central area immediately around the market had been fully occupied, a haphazard expansion of burgages would have spread along the main road both to the east and the west of the central walled area.[128]

The alternative model that has been put forward is one which views the medieval town as being subject to much stricter planning on the part of the earls of Gloucester. In this way it is possible to view the borough as consisting of three distinct planned units, each being added as demand outstripped the available land in the previous area.[129] The first unit would clearly have been the walled area around the marketplace, where Richard de Clare's planners would have laid out the initial burgage plots.[130] From the cartographic evidence of the 1841 Tithe Survey and the first Ordnance Survey map of 1878, it is possible to estimate that the walled area could have accommodated some 80-90 burgages.[131] As the documentary evidence suggests that there were approximately 59 burgages in the town by 1262-63 and c.233 by 1296, it is clear that the walled area would have been quickly occupied, perhaps by c.1280.[132] This central area may well have been experimental, Earl Richard seeking to assess the viability and potential of a trading centre in his newly acquired demesne. The rapid growth of the town during the second half of the thirteenth century may then have encouraged the lord of Glamorgan, Gilbert 'the Red', to add a new unit of planned burgages to the original settlement. In Robinson's view this is most likely to have been the area of burgages located to the west of the initial town (see figure eighteen), for the reason that this area was flat and away from the immediate dangers of flooding should the Thaw burst its banks.[133] The development of this second unit, in addition to the walled area, would have provided sufficient room for the 233 burgages which stood in 1296.[134] It would not be adequate to accommodate the 276¾ burgages which stood in 1307, however, and this could have stimulated the third planned unit which was laid out to the east of the circuit of walls (see figure eighteen).[135] The western settlement extended right to the edge of the parish boundary, precluding any further development in that area. Consequently, the only available site along the Port Way to accommodate further burgages lay to the east of the Thaw, although this area was likely to have been rather more prone to flooding.[136]

Which of these hypotheses is closer to the truth is unclear on the strength of the present evidence. The topographical evidence would seem to suggest that the development of extra mural settlement at Cowbridge was achieved by means of planned units, however, particularly if it is accepted that the walls were in place from the outset. As figure eighteen shows, the pattern followed by the burgages themselves is extremely regular, making the best use of the available land by extending right to the parish boundary and suggesting some active planning on the part of the lords of Glamorgan. However, while this is the most likely explanation, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that the growth actually occurred in a far more spontaneous manner. What is clear, though, is that Cowbridge developed a significant amount of suburban settlement during the period of Clare lordship. Whether this was achieved through planned units or spontaneous development, the fact remains that some two thirds of the town was located outside the defended area; a percentage far in excess of that seen at any of the other towns in this study.

The questions of growth and internal layout are far less readily answered for Trelech but the continuing excavations on the site continue to yield important information with which to lift the shroud from many aspects of the town's development.[137] From the surviving documentary evidence it is clear that, like Cowbridge, Trelech expanded at a tremendous rate during the period of Clare lordship. The earliest surviving indication of burgage numbers dates from 1288 when a Minister's Account suggests that the town contained some 378 burgages, a figure only exceeded by Cardiff in the whole of Wales.[138] If one accepts that the town was only properly founded by Richard de Clare following his inheritance of the lordship of Usk in 1245-6, this represents a level of growth unparalleled elsewhere in Wales and the March. This accelerated growth proved short lived, however, as the town fell victim to two attacks during the 1290's, firstly by Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, in 1291 and then by Morgan ap Maredudd in 1294-5.[139] These attacks left 102 burgages vacant "by fire in the war", and the borough appears to have recovered little as by 1307 there stood only 271 burgages, held by 113 burgesses.[140] Indeed, Trelech was by this point in apparent decline for in 1314 the burgage total had fallen to 265.[141] Despite this reduction, Trelech still ranked as one of the eight largest towns in Wales.[142]

Clearly, such a substantial town would have required a significant area. Within the modern village of Trelech, one of the original streets of the medieval town has survived as the main thoroughfare. Running north-south to the east of the castle, this road may well represent Trelech's 'High Street', although any traces of a flanking burgage pattern of the type seen at Cowbridge have long disappeared (see figure nineteen).[143] The sheer size of Trelech during the thirteenth century, however, would have meant that more than a single street was required, particularly as the church and motte occupied much of the space on the western side. In his 'History of Monmouthshire' Bradney describes a second street which ran parallel with the existing road but to the west of the motte, where sections of paving and the foundations of houses could be seen (see figure nineteen).[144] The line of this second street has been preserved in the field boundaries and an area 8m. x 12m. was excavated between 1991 and 1993.[145] This excavation appears to confirm that this was indeed the site of a medieval street as it uncovered three levels of paving, with small stone cobbling placed on a layer of larger stone set on a base of compacted slag.[146] Interestingly, the excavation revealed that the road surface overlay part of an earlier burgage plot and it would appear that the road was first laid, widened

or shifted to the west during the later thirteenth century. Of course, this was the same time as the town reached its medieval peak. From the most recent excavation at Trelech, undertaken during the summer of 1997, however, substantial evidence has emerged to suggest that the thirteenth century town was in fact served by a third major street running north-south.[147] The excavations, in the eastern reaches of the area of the town, have uncovered evidence of a third medieval road surface which appears to have run roughly parallel with the 'High Street' (see figure nineteen). Significantly, it would appear that the distance between this third street and the 'High Street' is roughly equidistant to that between the 'High Street' and the second street to the west, suggesting that a notable degree of planning was involved in the laying out of the town. The three parallel streets running north-south appear to have been complemented by lesser streets running east-west, which would have given Trelech a grid layout.[148] The existence of one such street is suggested by plot boundaries between the motte and the church which lead at right angles from the present street and run parallel to each other with sufficient distance between them to accommodate two rows of burgages.[149] How many of these lesser streets existed is unknown, but one would suspect that they served to link the three major streets at fairly regular intervals, such as to the north of the church and south of the motte. The existence of such east-west streets would also serve to support the view that the town was laid out with some degree of planning on the part of Richard and Gilbert de Clare, rather than being the product of ad-hoc development.

The strong likelihood exists, however, that the medieval population of Trelech was not restricted to this grid of streets within the line of the projected defences. The example of Cowbridge as a settlement which experienced significant suburban development within decades of its foundation serves to show how planners could underestimate the demand for burgages. Given the large number of burgages at Trelech and the relatively small available area within the supposed defences, it would seem likely that some form of suburban settlement occurred along roads leading into the borough. No documentary evidence has survived to indicate the presence of such settlement, but archaeological excavation in 1987 uncovered evidence of iron-working beyond the line of the assumed defences.[150] This would seem to support the view that settlement and industrial activity at Trelech did indeed spread beyond the defences, but its full extent is at present unclear.

The patterns of internal growth and evolution within the two castle boroughs of Llantrisant and Caerphilly were on a much reduced scale in comparison with the two larger implantations. Turning initially to Llantrisant, the documentary sources show that the town underwent a period of expansion which, while not on the scale of that witnessed at Trelech or Cowbridge, was nevertheless still impressive. In 1262-3 the town yielded fixed rents of £0 13s 4d per annum, indicating the presence of a mere handful of burgages.[151] The town was not mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem of the Red Earl, but by 1307 a total of 145½ burgages were occupied.[152] Indeed, unlike Cowbridge and Trelech, Llantrisant continued to expand right through the period of Clare lordship as by 1314 the burgage total had reached 187, with a further 29 unoccupied and rented as pasturage.[153] Although not large, Llantrisant was by no means insignificant, and by 1314 it had surpassed both Neath and Kenfig in terms of burgage numbers.[154]

The streetplan which accommodated these 216 occupied and unoccupied burgages appears to have largely filled the relatively small hilltop site of the town, which effectively dictated both its size and limits.[155] The castle occupied the central position with the church to the west, and this forced the town to adopt an almost circular layout as can clearly be seen in figure twenty. The main thoroughfare was the High Street to the east of the castle, with the rough circle being completed by Swan Street and Church Street.[156] Each burgage plot seems to have been 24 feet long and 20 feet wide, small dimensions in comparison with most other towns and reflecting the small available area, and in the present town their form is best preserved on the northern side of Swan Street.[157] The heart of the medieval town lay to the north of the castle bailey, with the marketplace being located at the junction of the High Street, as it wound its way up the hillside, and Swan Street.[158] The hilltop location, combined with the lack of any evidence for town defences makes the question of suburban development at Llantrisant purely hypothetical. What would seem clear is that the geographical location of the town acted as a natural boundary and thus would have reduced the possibility of any settlement of note away from the hilltop itself. If the existence of a circuit of defences was to come to light in the course of future archaeological investigation, then it may be possible to identify areas of potential extra-mural activity. The southern area of High Street would be a prime candidate (see figure twenty).

In comparison with the steady, impressive, if ultimately unspectacular growth seen at Llantrisant during the period of Clare lordship, Caerphilly underwent a much more limited expansion. In the revolt of Morgan ap Maredudd the town was reduced to ashes, the Inquisition Post Mortem of the Red Earl dated 1296 referring to "80 burnt burgages which used to render 40s. yearly before the war".[159] By 1307, Caerphilly appears to have recovered to a certain extent from the depravations of war as some 44 burgages were occupied.[160] At the time of the death of Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert in 1314, the town had further strengthened its position to the point where it exceeded its size prior to the attack of Morgan ap Maredudd. with 95 burgages returning rent.[161] Throughout the period in question, though, Caerphilly was never anything other than tiny, smaller in terms of burgage numbers and projected population than even Neath.[162] Indeed. there is little indication that it increased dramatically in the post-Clare period as by 1347, the total still only stood at 98.[163]

The limited size of the town in terms of burgage numbers obviously meant that it would have required a smaller area than the other three thirteenth century plantations, and this is reflected in the apparently straightforward layout of Caerphilly. No contemporary evidence has survived for the names, location or number of streets in the town during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and this, combined with the debate over the actual location of the town, means that any description of the streetplan and burgage layout of Caerphilly must rely upon conjecture. From the first edition of the six inch Ordnance Survey Plan, which captures the essence of the old town before its expansion during the nineteenth century, it would appear that the medieval town consisted of a single street which ran to the east of the castle with the narrow triangular market place at its southern end.[164] The shape of this market place has been largely preserved in the form of the Twyn in the modern town, and during the Clare period is likely to have accommodated burgage plots around its edge (see figure twenty one). Given the extremely small size of the town throughout the medieval period, this limited

streetplan would have been more than sufficient to house the ninety five burgages documented in 1314.[165] As with Llantrisant and Trelech, the lack of conclusive evidence for the existence of any form of borough defences at Caerphilly makes the question of suburban expansion extremely difficult to answer. Unlike Trelech, and to a lesser extent Llantrisant, however, the small number of burgages evidenced in medieval Caerphilly makes such a development extremely unlikely. Even if a line of town defence had been erected, the limited area covered by the town would, more likely than not, have fitted comfortably within it. Such a lack of evidence must mean that the discussion of suburban development at Caerphilly remains entirely hypothetical.

The surviving documentary and archaeological evidence for the period in question clearly shows, therefore, that the four towns implanted by the Clare earls of Gloucester in the thirteenth century each experienced a growth in burgage numbers and subsequent populations. At some of these new urban centres, particularly Cowbridge and Trelech, the levels of growth experienced were far in excess of those seen in the towns inherited by the Clares during the same period. Llantrisant, too, enjoyed notable growth, while only Caerphilly failed to establish itself in terms of size as anything other than a tiny town clinging to the walls of the great castle. The means of accommodating the burgages within the four towns does not appear to have followed a common pattern, however, with the apparently regulated units of planned growth at Cowbridge and the classic grid plan streets of Trelech and Llantrisant contrasting sharply with the more ad hoc development seen at Caerphilly.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

In the course of the previous chapter, it was appreciated how the church and other related religious institutions often represented a central feature in the life of the medieval town. In the six towns inherited by the Clare earls of Gloucester, this influence varied considerably from the well developed multifarious religious infrastructure enjoyed by Cardiff to the rather limited provision witnessed at Neath.[166] Generally speaking, however, the religious infrastructure of the inherited towns was fairly well developed, exhibiting features such as priories, friaries, hospitals, and leper houses as well as churches and chapels.[167] Within the four new plantations, the picture was somewhat different.

The town of Cowbridge, as has been mentioned, was laid out at the edge of the parish of Llanbleddian by Richard de Clare, and thus the Church of St. John the Baptist at Llanbleddian served as the parish church throughout the middle ages.[168] As the Church of Llanbleddian lay some one mile away from the town, the distance was inconvenient for the burgesses and this would seem to have been appreciated by de Clare and his planners. The Chapel of the Holy Cross, or 'Holy Rood', was erected in the town as a chapel of ease to Llanbleddian in order to better serve the townspeople. Located within the walled area of the town to the south of the High Street burgage plots (see figure eighteen), the date of construction of the chapel is unknown.[169] Indeed, the earliest documentary evidence for its existence dates to 1443 when a deed was drawn up "in the chapel of the Holy Cross of Cowbridge".[170] The architectural evidence contained within the modern day church of the Holy Cross suggest that it was already some two hundred years old by that date, however.[171] This would seem to suggest that the

chapel was contemporary with the foundation of the town, or at the very latest was added during the rapid growth of the later thirteenth century.[172]

The Chapel of the Holy Cross at Cowbridge as it stood during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, was cruciform in shape and is preserved in the nave and chancel of the current structure,[173] with a fine piscina of this date still located in the south wall of the chancel.[174] The chapel was some 120 feet (36m.) in length which, as Robinson has pointed out, was impressive in terms of the period of construction and the surrounding area. Indeed, the chancel was particularly large and gave the structure something of an unbalanced feel, Robinson suggesting that transepts were planned (though never built) in order to restore the symmetry of the chapel.[175] A further feature of Holy Cross during the Clare period was the central tower, which is of early fourteenth century construction in origin. Although square, it includes an inset octagonal castellated parapet which was probably intended for a spire which, like the transepts, was never constructed.[176] Later additions were made to the Chapel which reflected a new period of wealth at Cowbridge during the fifteenth century, but as it stood c.1314 it represented a structure whose size and architectural aggrandisement perfectly reflected the confidence, wealth and expansion of this new plantation.

Aside from the impressive Chapel of the Holy Cross, however, Cowbridge during the Clare era was decidedly bereft of other religious buildings and institutions. No evidence has survived to suggest the existence of small chapels similar, for example, to St. Piran's at Cardiff, while there is no indication that a hospital or leper house was founded in the town, either by the burgesses, the lord, or a religious house. Indeed, no form of religious house was attracted to Cowbridge or its environs. This is perhaps unsurprising, however, when one considers the role of the town during this period. It was a speculative economic venture on the part of the Clares first and foremost and thus was intrinsically different from the caputs of Cardiff and Usk and unlikely to develop and attract such a wide variety of religious influences.

This limited religious infrastructure within Cowbridge is further compounded by a distinct lack of evidence for religious houses from outside the borough holding an interest within the town in the form of grants of money and property. The surviving evidence is silent regarding the type of individual grants made by the burgesses which were noted at Cardiff and Kenfig, but given its far from comprehensive nature such activity should not be ruled out completely.[177] The apparent lack of individual burgess grants is, however, apparently replicated in the attitude of the Clare earls of Gloucester themselves as no evidence has survived to suggest that they offered voluntary grants of land in their new town to any religious houses, either in Glamorgan or further afield. Indeed, the only known stake held by a religious house in Cowbridge during this period was that held by Neath Abbey as a part of the 1289 land exchange agreement discussed in chapter four.[178] The stake was considerable, however, amounting to a payment of £14 12s 7d. per annum being paid to the abbot out of the fixed rents of the borough.[179] In fact, as part of the agreement, Neath Abbey also held a strong interest in the environs of the town, for it also received a yearly payment of £23 6s 7¼d from Llanbleddian manor.[180]

The pattern of a single religious focus seen at Cowbridge was repeated at the Clares' other large plantation of Trelech. An eighth-century grant contained in the 'Book of Llandaf' makes reference to a church of 'Trilecc', suggesting that the town may have grown on the site of a native Welsh 'llan'.[181] However, as Bradney has suggested, this is more likely to be a reference to the church of Trelech Grange some two and a half miles to the south rather than a predecessor of the Church of St. Nicholas at Trelech borough.[182] Consequently, on the strength of the present evidence it would seem safe only to claim that the Church of St. Nicholas, Trelech, represents a post-conquest foundation, although the possibility of some earlier religious activity should not be ruled out completely. Of the date of foundation of the present church nothing is known, as no written reference survives prior to 1359.[183] In common with Cowbridge, however, it is likely that some form of church existed in the thirteenth century, either constructed during the period of Marshal lordship (and thus contemporary with the settlement noted prior to 1245), or more likely at some point during the early development of the town by the Clares.

The church occupies an impressive site in the north west corner of Trelech (see figure nineteen). The geographical position chosen for St. Nicholas was one common to a number of other plantations in Wales, as it was a general feature of planned medieval boroughs that, if suitable, the north-western corner was reserved from the outset for the construction of the town church.[184] This in itself would seem to reinforce the belief that the foundation of the church was coeval with that of the town as a whole. In its present form the church essentially dates from the fourteenth century and, like the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Cowbridge, reflects the confidence, populousness and importance of Trelech in the later Clare period in terms of its impressive size.[185] Nothing is known of the earlier church which, it is presumed, preceded the current structure. It may have been incorporated into the later fabric, although this is not immediately evident, or it is also possible that it could initially have been constructed in wood as a temporary structure while the viability of the new town was assessed, although again no evidence has survived to confirm this.

The extreme shortage of documentary evidence for Trelech during this period, combined with the fact that the valuable ongoing archaeological excavations have so far only investigated a small area of the medieval town, makes any comment on further religious institutions at Trelech extremely difficult and highly reliant upon conjecture. However, it would seem fair to state that aside from the Church of St. Nicholas itself, there is no indication of any further religious influences in the town either in the form of chapels, hospitals or religious houses. Indeed, the surviving documentary material is even silent on the matter of the grant of lands and rents in the town to the favoured religious houses of the burgesses or the lord himself. As with Cowbridge, and for much the same reasons, this is hardly surprising.[186]

The smaller borough of Llantrisant exhibits a similar level of religious development to its larger contemporaries. In the earlier discussion of the choice of site for the borough, it was noticed that there is a strong possibility that it was founded on the site of an existing native Welsh tref complete with a church.[187] The fact that the church is dedicated to three native saints, Illtud, Gwyno and Tyfodwg, suggests that the origins of the site as a religious focus may well pre-date the Anglo-Norman conquest

as at Newport and Caerleon.[188] Indeed, this suspicion is supported by the fact that the church contains an inscribed cross dating from the seventh to ninth centuries A.D.[189] Provided that it was not brought to Llantrisant from another site, it would suggest the existence of some form of pre-conquest religious focus. A further indication that this assumption may be correct exists in the form of the extremely large enclosure around the church (see figure twenty). As at Caerleon, such extensive enclosures are typical of pre-conquest religious sites.

Prior to a programme of extensive rebuilding work undertaken during the nineteenth century, the Church of Saints Illtud, Gwyno and Tyfodwg appears to have dated from the first half of the twelfth century. This much can be identified from the Norman work which survives by the South Door and the western arch of the nave.[190] What is less readily apparent is who was responsible for its construction at this early date, a full century before the castle. The most plausible explanation would seem to be that its construction was effected during the early twelfth century when the area around Llantrisant briefly fell into Anglo-Norman hands, before being recaptured by the Welsh later in the century. This would suggest that the church was the work of its first Anglo-Norman lord, possibly Robert le Sor, as a part of the religious reorganisation of captured areas into parishes and dioceses.[191] Unlike the other foundations of Richard de Clare during the mid-thirteenth century, therefore, Llantrisant definitely possessed an existing religious focus prior to the laying out of the town. Unfortunately, the comprehensive rebuilding of the church during the nineteenth century removed most of the earlier fabric and this makes it impossible to discuss alterations made to the twelfth century structure during the period of Clare lordship. The possibility of later thirteenth and early fourteenth century remodelling cannot be ruled out, particularly as St. Woolos Church in Newport stands as a prime example that such work was carried out during the period of Clare lordship.[192] Without any evidence to support this, however, nothing can be said with any degree of confidence.

A claim which can be put forward with a much stronger degree of confidence is that the town of Llantrisant mirrored the religious patterns so far witnessed in the Clares' other new foundations in not possessing any religious infrastructure beyond a single church. Once again, the dominant factor would appear to be the nature of the town which was as a new administrative and economic centre for the recently acquired commotes of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda. It was not a caput, and its small population would have required little more than the parish church which was already in existence. This was compounded by the natural restrictions of the site which offered little space for anything but the most basic features of the town.

The basic religious provision witnessed at Cowbridge, Trelech and Llantrisant appear somewhat comprehensive in comparison with the situation seen at Caerphilly during the same period. From all the available evidence, both documentary and archaeological, there is no suggestion that medieval Caerphilly was served by either a church or a chapel of any description. The present church in the modern town, St. Martin's, was not constructed until 1552 when it was founded as a chapel-of-ease for the parish church of Eglwysilan, located on the mountain of the same name some four or five miles north of the town.[193] This would seem to suggest that up until the sixteenth century, the townsfolk of Caerphilly were forced to use the parish church.[194] The distance involved, not to mention the

geographic position, in using Eglwysilan must have been very inconvenient, however, and it is difficult to accept that no religious provision existed anywhere in the town. This is particularly so when one considers that a religious focus was provided at the Clares' other foundations. One possibility, given the small size of the town, was that rather than having a separate chapel of their own, the townspeople were given access to the chapel located within the castle.[195] Of further religious influence within the town of Caerphilly little can be said as, in common with the other thirteenth century plantations described here, the surviving evidence is silent regarding grants made to religious houses of lands or rents within the town. This is again unsurprising given the general pattern elsewhere, particularly when one considers the extremely small size of the settlement during this period.

At first glance, the most striking feature of the religious provision and infrastructure of the Clares' new towns of the thirteenth century is their relatively underdeveloped nature in comparison with the six towns which the family inherited during the same period. Throughout this discussion, however, the point has been consistently made that the nature of the new towns was considerably different from those existing towns, such as Cardiff and Usk, which exhibited the widest range of religious foundations. Remove these important 'caputs' from the equation, however, and the comparison is much more even, with towns such as Caerleon and Neath exhibiting a similar infrastructure to Cowbridge and Trelech.[196] Indeed, when one considers the developments made in religious infrastructure in the existing towns during the Clare period alone, the level achieved in the new foundations appear generally similar. In the new towns, as in those existing urban centres, the period of Clare lordship cannot be seen to have been a time of great ecclesiastical and religious growth. It was a time of evolution, rather than revolution, which saw the religious infrastructure of the towns develop to a point sufficient to meet the basic requirements of the inhabitants but no more than that.[197]

TRADE, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

In the course of this chapter the evolution of the four Clare plantations has been discussed in terms of their location, their topography and infrastructure, and their growth in population and burgage numbers. Having identified the patterns of physical development and expansion, attention must now be turned to understanding the motivations behind this development. Within the initial framework of the newly planted towns grew the life of the town and its inhabitants. It was this element which was central to the success, or otherwise, of the medieval town and consequently in this section a consideration will be made of the socio-economic development of the four towns.

On the most basic level of economic development, the four towns in question each fulfilled the role common to virtually all medieval towns by acting as the marketing centre for the surrounding area or hinterland. This role was of particular importance at Cowbridge, however, for as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the borough was specifically founded by Richard de Clare to increase his revenues from a newly acquired area of his demesne estates.[198] More than anywhere else in the Clares' Welsh estates, the marketplace dominated virtually every aspect of medieval Cowbridge, from its site and physical layout to the rapid growth it experienced during the later thirteenth century. Marketing was the basis of the prosperity of the town during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

and Cowbridge was thus well placed to exploit the booming thirteenth century economy and the increasing demand for manufactured goods and services from the surrounding rural population.[199]

It will be remembered from the discussion of economic development in the previous chapter that the wealth of a town's hinterland played a crucial role in its overall success as a marketing centre.[200] In this respect, Cowbridge was extremely well served as Richard de Clare chose a site which was convenient for trade located at the centre of one of the most prosperous agricultural districts in the whole of Wales.[201] Indeed, as well as being a particularly wealthy agricultural area, it was also a relatively secure one. Unlike Kenfig and Neath, which suffered the ravages of Welsh attack numerous times in the period in question, Cowbridge was, as far as is known, never attacked during the Clare era.[202] These factors combined to make Cowbridge a marketing centre ***par excellence***.

The marketplace, as has been seen, was located at the heart of the town, and this probably hosted the market on a once weekly basis during the Clare period.[203] In addition to the market which, as elsewhere, served to effect local exchange, Cowbridge quickly expanded its economic role as a trading centre by hosting a yearly fair. Held on the 14th September, the feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross (i.e. the feast of the dedication of Cowbridge chapel), the fair at Cowbridge maintained the common tendency of the medieval period to incorporate such events as part of a religious festival.[204] The date of the grant of this fair to the borough is unknown, but it is first mentioned in 1296 and the fact that it was held on the 14th September is noted in 1307.[205] During the Elizabethan period a second fair was held on the Midsummer's Day feast of St. John the Baptist, to whom Llanbleddian church is dedicated. No mention is made of this fair in the Clare period and it can only be assumed that it was a later development.[206]

This clearly defined role of Cowbridge as a marketing centre acted as an obvious magnet for settlers and offered them the opportunity of economic prosperity once they had become resident in the borough. Unfortunately, though, little evidence has survived from the Clare period to suggest the actual crafts and trades which the burgesses themselves practised.[207] The known street names offer no clue of concentrations of trades in the manner seen in some of the Clares' other towns, while personal name evidence is restricted to a John le Bakere mentioned in 1301.[208] In essence, however, the trades followed by the burgesses were likely to have been similar to those evidenced in the six inherited towns. Indeed, as at Kenfig, the Ordinances of Cowbridge offer some clues to occupations for while in their complete form they date from the early modern period, they are likely to have originated in the fourteenth century.[209] In general, the Ordinances concentrate upon the victualling trades central to the life of the medieval town, with reference being made to butchers, bakers, brewers, tapsters and tavern keepers.[210] Of specific crafts and industries only tanners are positively identified, but to this can probably also be added smiths, carpenters, mercers and the other trades common to the medieval town in general.[211] Little can be said regarding the numbers involved in particular trades in Cowbridge during the period in question due to the general lack of primary evidence. However, brewing would appear to have being particularly strong in the town, as in 1296 prise of ale amounted to £5, a not inconsiderable sum.[212] As well as giving an indication of some of the occupations of the burgesses, the Ordinances also serve to demonstrate that although a separate entity from the surrounding manorial

lands, Cowbridge nevertheless retained a distinct semi-rural character. Several of the Ordinances refer to the keeping of livestock in the borough in the form of pigs and cattle.[213] This was in no way unusual, as virtually all the Clares' Welsh towns, and particularly the smaller ones, retained a noticeable rural character.

The medieval economy of Cowbridge was based upon its role as a marketing centre for the rich agricultural hinterland. Indeed, there is nothing in the surviving evidence to suggest that Cowbridge extended its economic function by becoming a focus for long distance mercantile trading of the type seen at Cardiff, for example.[214] This is unsurprising, particularly when one considers the geographic location of Cowbridge together with its intended role. Richard de Clare would appear to have chosen the site of Cowbridge to serve the local retail trade and to reinforce his newly acquired administrative superiority over a limited area. This it achieved admirably. However, it was never envisaged as a centre of longer distance and foreign trade, and thus was not sited on the coast or along the course of a navigable river, the River Thaw being too shallow and too narrow to carry shipping. Cardiff was only located some ten miles to the east and, as has been seen, not only performed this role for its hinterland alone but for much of Glamorgan in general.[215]

While Cowbridge may not have developed as a centre of long distance trade, there is some evidence to suggest that a trading elite may have emerged among the population of the town. Although the borough was not a part of longer range trade networks, it was still possible for significant mercantile interests to be built up by burgesses within the town itself. Unfortunately, no evidence has survived from the period in question which would allow one to identify burgesses holding a number of burgage plots within Cowbridge. Yet the possibility exists that burgesses of Cowbridge extended their interests into other, neighbouring towns. It will be remembered that in the previous chapter it was clear from the surviving evidence that burgesses in Cardiff, Kenfig and (possibly) Usk had become aware of the commercial benefits to be accrued from holding property in more than one town.[216] A similar trend may also have occurred at Cowbridge, for in 1310 a grant was made by a Amicia de Newlestar of Cowbridge of a tenement in Womanby Street, Cardiff, to a Thomas Clement.[217] Unfortunately, no further evidence is known to have survived to give any indication of how widespread this tendency was amongst the burgesses of Cowbridge, either in Cardiff or in other urban centres. Nevertheless, it would seem that Cowbridge had developed into a town of sufficient wealth and maturity for some form of urban elite to have emerged amongst its population by the end of the Clare period.

Evidence for the level of organisation and independence achieved by the burgesses of Cowbridge during the period in question is distinctly limited. Earlier in this chapter, it was seen that the town possessed a Guild Hall during the later middle ages, and possibly as early as the mid-fourteenth century.[218] This would seem to suggest that while there is no surviving reference to a 'guild merchant' in the town, one probably did exist to regulate and control the market.[219] The problem which exists, though, is exactly the same as that faced with the Guild Hall, namely its date of foundation. The lack of any evidence of the date of the erection of the hall, or of the formation of any guild, makes it impossible to say whether such an institution existed in the borough during the Clare period. The experience of the six towns inherited by the family, of which only Cardiff is known to

have had a guild prior to 1314, would suggest that considerable caution should be exercised before making such a claim.

The marketing role which so dominated the life of Cowbridge during the middle ages was also present at Trelech, albeit on a lesser scale. That the town possessed a market is first attested to in a Minister's Account dating from 1288, and by the close of the Clare period it had clearly become a central feature of the borough.[220] In the earlier discussion of the economic development of the neighbouring borough of Usk, it was suggested that towns which possessed predominantly native Welsh hinterlands were likely to benefit from the widespread commercial growth which accompanied the active involvement of the native Welsh in the marketplace during the second half of the thirteenth century.[221] At first glance the hinterland of Trelech was very similar to that of Usk and this provided a measure of potential for the new town to develop as a marketing centre. Indeed the fact that Trelech fulfilled this role is further demonstrated by the existence of a fair in the town by 1296.[222] The date on which this fair was held is unknown and a question mark must also be placed against its success as it is unmentioned in the Inquisitions Post Mortem of Countess Joan and Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert as well as the surviving Minister's Accounts.[223]

As a commercial centre, however, Trelech was poorly located to fully exploit the potential of its hinterland. Located away from important land trading routes and a navigable river, Trelech was somewhat isolated and combined with the relatively close proximity of Usk some nine miles to the south west this must have restricted the town to being little more than a centre of limited local exchange.[224] Nevertheless this would still have provided the opportunity for some burgesses to make a living from both trading and the manufacture of goods for the market. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence for Trelech in the medieval period means that once again little can be said conclusively regarding the occupations followed by the burgesses. One would imagine, however, that the pattern of trades and crafts practised within the town would have been similar to those witnessed in some of the Clares' other Welsh boroughs. Victualling trades such as brewers, bakers, and butchers would surely have been present, as would craftsmen working in leather, cloth, wood and metal. In common with many other contemporary towns, Trelech also possessed a distinctly agrarian quality to its economic life. From the documentary evidence which has survived, it is clear that both arable and pastoral farming was practised by the burgesses. In 1307, the burgesses held 583 acres of land for which they paid a total of £4 17s 2d. per annum.[225] During the early fourteenth century, much of this land was probably turned over to sheep breeding as wool was an extremely valuable commodity during this period.[226] In addition to sheep, the burgesses would probably also have kept cattle and pigs, as well as turning over some of the land to the cultivation of corn and other foodstuffs.[227]

The marketing role and the agricultural exploitation, while both contributory factors to Trelech's economic life, do not appear to have been sufficient in themselves to explain the truly rapid growth experienced by the town during the later thirteenth century. For an explanation of the true motivation behind the expansion witnessed at Trelech, a third economic factor must be considered. It has been recognised for some time that the town was the site of early industrial development in the form of iron production, but it was initially believed to have been on a relatively small scale.[228] In the course of a

series of excavations undertaken since 1987, however, a consistent body of evidence has emerged to suggest that in fact iron smelting was taking place on an increasingly impressive scale during the later thirteenth century.

The initial excavation of this on-going programme was undertaken in 1987 on the periphery of the town, and this uncovered evidence of large scale iron smelting in an area presumed to lie well outside the assumed defences.[229] The discovery of iron working in this area complemented the results of an earlier rescue excavation which had been performed within the area of the town, and this prompted a more systematic excavation within the medieval borough itself.[230] Consequently in the period 1991-93 two presumed burgage plots were excavated in the central portion of the town, uncovering important information central to explaining the major medieval role of Trelech.[231] On this site, excavations revealed a number of phases of occupation during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[232] The earliest phase, which has already been mentioned earlier in this study, consisted of a small domestic building which from ceramic evidence has been dated c.1200-1230.[233] This structure, which appears to pre-date the acquisition of the area by Richard de Clare, seems to have been destroyed by fire and the site turned over to industrial use of ever increasing sophistication. The second phase of development consisted of a furnace measuring some 0.8m x 0.7m with an associated slag pit. A single jug sherd was discovered which suggests a date of post 1240 for this second phase and thus dating from around the time that Richard de Clare inherited the area.[234] In the north east corner of the excavation, beneath the metalling of the second main street which was discussed earlier, was found a further furnace measuring 0.7m x 0.75m together with more associated slag.[235] It is important to recognise, however, that both these furnaces were not contemporary with each other. Rather, the furnace covered by the street appears either to have superseded or supplemented the original furnace at some point between c.1240 and c.1270 and would indicate an intensification of iron production on the site.[236] This apparent intensification is supported by the discovery of the foundations of a small structure which partly overlay the original domestic dwelling. Its purpose is unclear but it is possible that it was contemporary with the second furnace and served as a storehouse or shelter for the ironworkers.[237]

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the second major road at Trelech was either shifted or widened in the later thirteenth century, and this clearly ushered the demise of the iron working facilities in their existing form. With the alterations made to the street, however, the level of industrial activity on the site became significantly more intensive with the construction of an apparently purpose built structure.[238] Of greater size than the previous erections on the site, measuring 5.2m x 7.3m, it was apparently constructed by means of a dwarf stone wall with a wooden superstructure.[239] In the centre of the building was a bloomery furnace, with slag being tapped into an adjoining pit, together with the base for the bellows apparatus.[240] In addition to the actual smelting, there is also the suggestion of possible iron roasting in the south-west corner of the excavation.[241] The structure may have been entered at the south-west corner by means of a large hinged door which would have allowed easier access for heavy materials.[242] Ceramic evidence associated with this phase of development suggest a date of construction c.1270-1290.[243]

Further excavations along the south edge of the site uncovered the foundations of a 'long house' dating from the early fourteenth centruy.[244] Covering an area of some 9.3m x 3.8m, the medieval floor surface which has survived suggests that the northern area of the building served as domestic living accomodation with pottery sherds and deposits of ash being discovered. Unfortunately the southern floor surface was too disturbed to offer conclusive evidence of use, but the nature of the building would suggest that it was used to accommodate animals.[245] What is certain is that there is no evidence of iron working and smelting taking place within this structure, although slag was used to provide a surface at the entrance to the cross passage, and thus it would seem fair to claim that industrial activity on the site ceased with the construction of the longhouse.

The findings of the excavations on this site appear to be supported by findings from a number of other sites in the area of the medieval town. A new site was excavated in the area between the previous site and the motte, and the evidence uncovered served to demonstrate further the fact that iron working was a significant factor in the economic life of Trelech.[246] Once again, the widened street was exposed and in this instance it overlay a large slag dump. Amounts of charcoal and hammer scale in the area indicate the presence of iron working, while ceramic evidence from the site suggests a date somewhere in the late thirteenth century for the widening of the road.[247] Clearly, this corresponds with the evidence from the previous site. Further evidence of iron production has emerged from a watching brief at Court Farm, immediately to the north of the castle, under the direction of Steve Clarke of Monmouth Archaeological Society.[248] In the course of this watching brief, further structural remains were revealed with yet more evidence of iron working. Finally, during the excavations in the east of the town undertaken during the summer of 1997 which uncovered the probable third road, the remains of a further eroded furnace were discovered.[249] This would seem particularly significant as it offers evidence to suggest that intensive iron production was occurring across the thirteenth century town, rather than being concentrated in a particular area.

Unfortunately, the evidence for widespread intensive iron production at Trelech which has emerged from the archaeological excavations is not substantiated by a wide and detailed amount of documentary evidence. For example, no mention is made in the surviving ministers accounts of iron being manufactured or sold, while the sources are also silent regarding raw materials being brought into the town. However, some circumstantial evidence has survived which may be reflective of the substantial ironworking which took place. Within the ministers accounts preserved at the Public Record Office are a number of accounts pertaining to the Forest of Trelech. An account has survived, dated 1310-11, which shows that wood sold from the forest that year amounted to £162 18s 6d., a huge sum when one remembers that the borough of Cardiff only returned £103 11s 9d. during the same period.[250] Of course, wood from the forest would have been used in a wide range of activities but there is good reason to suppose that some was consumed by charcoal burners. Two accounts, dating from 1314-15 and 1315-16, have survived to show that a significant charcoal burning industry existed in the environs of the town.[251] Each entitled as the "Account of the Collector of Monies from the sale of charcoal", they list total receipts of £45 19s 10d. and £23 12s 0½d. respectively.[252] Unfortunately, the accounts do not list who the customers were who bought this charcoal, and thus there is no way of directly linking its consumption to the iron production in the town. The fact that charcoal was a central

requirement for iron smelting, however, would suggest that the iron workers in the town would have required a substantial local supply and that produced in the Forest of Trelech would appear to be the obvious source.

The point to be drawn from this discussion of iron working at Trelech is that the traditional view of the town's economic role must be radically reviewed and strong new arguments put forward. Some caution must be exercised for the simple reason that only a limited area of the medieval town has been excavated, and that area may not prove to be typical of the borough as a whole.[253] Nevertheless, from the work which has been carried out on the site it is possible to suggest that the thirteenth century witnessed a sequence of developments which resulted in an intense industrialisation and change of land use on a number of sites within the town.[254] Rather than being a local centre of exchange which possessed distinctly agricultural overtones, Trelech instead emerges as a centre of intensive industrial production, a role unseen in any of the Clares' other Welsh towns.

Having identified that Trelech possessed a distinctive industrial character during this period, the question which must now be asked is why did it develop this role? The town of Trelech did not exist in isolation, and to understand its purpose fully it is important to relate its development to the wider contemporary situation in the March.[255] It will be remembered from chapter two of this study that the thirteenth century was a period which saw the Clares expend a great deal of time and energy upon expanding and consolidating their landed interest in Wales. This policy, which reached its peak under Earls Richard and Gilbert, was one which would have demanded amongst other things a safe industrial base at which to produce the significant amount of iron required to support these initiatives. It would appear that Trelech may well have fulfilled this role, particularly when one recognises how well the tentative dates attributed to developments in the town reflect the known historical picture.[256] The initial phases of industrial development, in the form of the two furnaces dated to the period 1240-70, coincide with the lordship of Earl Richard which saw almost constant warfare with the commotal lords and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in addition to the wider implications of the Baronial Wars.[257] This would have required significant quantities of iron for arms, for use in new castles such as Llantrisant, as well as for general use in everyday life.

The policies followed by Earl Richard prior to his death in 1262 were, as has been seen, continued with renewed vigour by his son Gilbert. The lordship of the 'Red Earl' was even more turbulent than that of his father and it is extremely interesting to note that the most intensive stage of industrial development at Trelech, the purpose built structure containing a furnace and associated apparatus, coincides with this period.[258] Indeed, it is extremely tempting to imagine that this intensive smelting was directly linked to the construction of Caerphilly Castle, which must have required large amounts of iron in both its construction and armaments.[259] Trelech's role as an industrial centre probably continued into the fourteenth century, but during the relatively peaceful lordship of Gilbert fitz Gilbert the demand for iron may have lessened and the town's importance diminished as a result. This seems to be reflected in the drop in burgage numbers to 265 in 1314, and possibly explains the construction of the 'long house' on the site of the furnaces. As the need for iron lessened, it would follow that alternative means of economic exploitation would have had to be sought. Agriculture, and

particularly sheep farming, would have provided one option and might explain the construction of the 'long house' on a previously industrial site. Whatever the true picture in the late Clare period, Trelech must have lost its industrial role almost completely after the death of Earl Gilbert in 1314. The break up of the lands in the subsequent partition meant that the need for a central industrial centre to serve the great bloc of lordships was removed. As a local commercial centre for iron production, Trelech faced stiff competition from other centres such as Monmouth, Gloucester and the Forest of Dean.[260] In such a situation, Trelech would again have been handicapped by its isolated and inaccessible site, and this is likely to have further forced it to turn to other sources of income.

In comparison with the rather single minded economic roles of Cowbridge and Trelech during the period of Clare lordship, the smaller towns of Llantrisant and Caerphilly were less intensely developed and more general in their outlook. As was mentioned at the start of this section, both towns performed the basic role of acting as marketing centres. The location of both in recently appropriated commotal lordships meant that they acted as centres of trade in Glynrhondda/Meisgyn and Senghenydd respectively. Little reference to the markets survives from the Clare period, but their existence is attested to in Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert's grant of 1312 which proclaimed that the use of the markets in both towns was to be free from toll for seven years.[261] At Llantrisant, the town's role as a trading centre was reinforced by the fact that at some point prior to 1307 it was granted the right to hold a fair, held on the Feast of Blessed Peter in Chains.[262] Caerphilly, meanwhile, does not appear to have been granted this privilege as no reference is made to such an event in the surviving accounts and surveys. It is not until the early modern period that a fair is known to have been held in Caerphilly, on St. Martin's Day (November 11th) the patronal festival of the chapel-of-ease.[263] Fairs, as has been said, were usually incorporated into religious festivals and as Caerphilly possessed no church or chapel during the Clare period, it may offer a reason as to why the town did not host a such an event.

Despite the establishment of markets at both towns and a fair at Llantrisant, the success of the smaller castle-boroughs as trading centres was reliant upon the maintenance of the fragile peace within the lordship of Glamorgan. Here, as elsewhere, such peaceful conditions were at a premium and both Llantrisant and Caerphilly sustained considerable damage in the rebellions of Morgan ap Maredudd in 1294-5 and Llywelyn Bren in 1314-16.[264] The attack of 1294-5 destroyed much of Caerphilly, while the second attack left 26 burgages burnt in Caerphilly and 47½ burnt in Llantrisant.[265] This smouldering unrest which continued to grip Blaenau Morgannwg even after the seizure of Senghenydd and the final defeat of Llywelyn ap Gruffyudd in 1282, meant that Llantrisant and Caerphilly were never able to exploit their largely native Welsh hinterlands to the same advantage seen at Usk.[266] Llantrisant must, however, have achieved a measure of success to have warranted the establishment of a fair and to have expanded to some 187 occupied burgages in 1314. Caerphilly's success as a marketing centre on the other hand can never have been anything other than small. Indeed, the relatively low level of trading in both towns was probably one reason why Gilbert fitz Gilbert was willing to grant both freedom from tolls in 1312.[267]

Yet to claim that Llantrisant and Caerphilly were failures as urban centres because they failed to emerge as rich centres of exchange would be quite wrong. It is important to realise that wealth through

commercial vitality was not the motivating factor in their development.[268] They were, first and foremost, castle-boroughs of classic plantation style and their purpose was to supply the castle with sufficient foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and to support it by means of the rents paid for burgages.[269] Consequently, both Llantrisant and Caerphilly would have had the appearance of rural settlements with the townspeople keeping livestock and growing foodstuffs to support both themselves and the garrisons. This is supported by the documentary evidence, as at Llantrisant the burgesses held some sixteen and a half acres of land while their contemporaries at Caerphilly must have exploited at least some of the ninety six acres attached to the castle and town.[270] In this respect they resembled the situation witnessed at Cardiff and the other early plantations in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[271]

Little information has survived regarding the occupations of the individual burgesses of Llantrisant and Caerphilly during the formative years of development under the Clare lordship. In addition to the obvious agricultural exploitation, however, one might realistically expect a number of the same trades and crafts which were practised elsewhere in the Clares' Welsh urban centres. This would have been particularly true of Llantrisant which had reached a fairly substantial size and would probably have contained a limited number of butchers, bakers, brewers, tavern-keepers, smiths, mercers, carpenters, and leatherworkers. As at Neath, however, the numbers involved in these trades would have been very small while some individual burgesses may have performed a number of trades on a limited scale.[272] A similar situation probably also existed at Caerphilly, although given its much smaller size, the number of these trades being practised might not have been so numerous.

Given the small size, the poor geographical locations for trading, and the apparently underdeveloped economies of Llantrisant and Caerphilly, one would expect little in the way of formal organisation amongst the burgesses themselves. In the case of Caerphilly such an assumption would appear to be correct as there is no evidence of any form of guild emerging in the town during the medieval or early modern periods. At Llantrisant, however, the situation is somewhat more complicated. The burgesses were granted permission to organise themselves into a Guild Merchant during the fourteenth century, but it would appear that this privilege was awarded by Hugh le Despenser as a part of his wider grant of privileges to the town in 1346.[273] Of course, as with a number of other towns, including Neath and Kenfig, the possibility exists that the grant by Despenser was an act of official confirmation of an existing practise. This may have been the case, but given the proposed level of economic development during the period of Clare tenure and the time elapsed since 1314, it is difficult to imagine that such an institution emerged prior to that date.

The patterns of development followed by each of the new towns founded by the Clare family in terms of their economic roles can, therefore, be seen to have varied quite considerably in both nature and extent. Indeed, nowhere is this more clearly displayed than in the profits which they each returned to their lord, as the following table demonstrates:

	COWBRIDGE	TRELECH	LLANTRISANT	CAERPHILLY
BURGAGE RENTS	£11 12s 10d	£19 9s 0d	£ 7 5s 6d	£ 2 0s 0d
ISSUES OF THE BOROUGH	£ 6 10s 2½d	£ 3 3s 4d	£ 2 17s 0d	N/A
FARMS	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
COURT PROFITS	N/A	N/A	N/A	£ 2 0s 0d
TOTAL	**£18 3s 0½d**	**£22 12s 4d**	**£10 2s 6½d**	**£ 4 0s 0d**

Table Four. Income from the towns c.1300

Figures for Cowbridge and Caerphilly[274] from Cal. I.P.M, III, no. 371.

Figures for Trelech from SC6/925/23 (1303)

Figures for Llantrisant from Cal. I.P.M, IV, no. 435.

A clear pattern emerges from these figures which directly reflects the development and experience of each of the four towns from their foundation until the end of the period of Clare lordship. The most successful towns in terms of the income they returned to their lord were quite clearly the two larger foundations of Cowbridge and Trelech. The gross income which each borough produced was fairly similar at £18 3s 0½d and £22 12 4d respectively, but it was the way in which these totals were made up which reflects the widely differing nature of the towns.[275] At Cowbridge rents were the major factor, but the issues from the borough (that is the tolls of the markets and fairs, prise of ale etc.) were not inconsiderable at £6 10s 2½d.[276] Trelech, meanwhile, is far more dependent upon rents, at £19 9s 0d, the issues of the borough only realising £3 3s 4d.[277] This is entirely consistent with the economic picture which has emerged for the towns, however. The strong marketing role of Cowbridge would be expected to produce more in the way of tolls than the industrial centre of Trelech. Indeed, as the accounts do not list profits from the sale of iron produced at Trelech, the economic value of the town is somewhat underestimated. The possible reasons for this will be investigated in the next chapter. From table four it is easy to appreciate that the castle-boroughs of Caerphilly and, to a lesser extent Llantrisant, were much less valuable to the Clares as commercial ventures. Once again, the majority of revenue came from burgage rents, and only Llantrisant shows any real signs of commercial vitality by returning issues of £2 17s 0d ; a figure which isn't that far short of Trelech.[278] The figures for both Llantrisant and Caerphilly date from the period prior to Earl Gilbert's grant of freedom from toll and thus represent both towns at their peak during the Clare period.[279] However, what the figures also show is how relatively little Earl Gilbert was in fact giving away when he made this grant. The table merely reflects the fact that both towns were originally intended to act as military and administrative centres in recently conquered areas. Indeed, the fact that they were located in areas with

the constant potential for unrest is reflected in the judicial profits at Caerphilly, a figure which exactly matched the amount received in burgage rents.[280]

The economic value of the four new implantations to the Clares, as shown in the above table, can be placed in context by comparing their revenue with that of the six towns inherited by the family during the same period.[281] Such a comparison immediately reinforces the point that the economic importance and wealth of even Cowbridge and Trelech was dwarfed in comparison with the long established 'caputs' of Cardiff and Usk, and was even well behind the towns of more multifarious economic interests such as Newport and Caerleon.[282] Yet they should not be regarded as unsuccessful. In the space of some half a century both Cowbridge and Trelech expanded rapidly, and quickly became more important economic centres than the long established boroughs of Kenfig and Neath.[283] The negligible economic value of Llantrisant and, particularly, Caerphilly during this period is reinforced, however. From the above table it is clear that the gross income which Llantrisant presented to its lord in 1307 was not much more than half that returned by Kenfig (see chapter four, table 3).[284]

Such comparisons are of limited use, however. In the course of this chapter one extremely important point has consistently emerged from almost every aspect of the development of the four newly implanted towns. This, simply, is that in their basic nature they were intrinsically different from the six inherited towns. Each was apparently founded to perform a specific role, rather than being purely speculative urban ventures which carved out roles for themselves as part of a long term evolutionary process. Consequently, each appears to have possessed a singularity of purpose unseen in the inherited towns, be it as a dedicated marketing, industrial or military and administrative centre. It was this which undoubtedly allowed Cowbridge and Trelech to grow so quickly. In both cases the demand for their services was already there and, combined with the favourable economic climate of the thirteenth century, this allowed rapid expansion to occur. At the same time, however, this singularity of purpose could ultimately prove to be restrictive as, indeed, was the case at Trelech and Caerphilly in particular. Once the motivation behind their foundation disappeared, both entered into a period of sustained, gradual decline.[285]

Notes

1. See above, chapter three, passim.
2. Ibid. chapter two, passim.
3. Ibid. chapter three, passim.
4. Ibid. chapter two, pp. 42-4.
5. The Charter of 1421 was unknown until 1983 when it was discovered in the office of a Solicitor in Somerset. It is now held at the Glamorgan County Record Office. Moore, P. Morgannwg, XXVII (1983) p. 80 ; and Annual Report of the Glamorgan Archivist, 1983. The survey of 1570 is quoted in full in Robinson, D. (1980) Cowbridge : The Archaeology and Topography of a small market town in the Vale of Glamorgan, p. 38.
6. Beresford, M. (1967) New Towns of the Middle Ages, p. 554 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971) 'The Medieval Boroughs of Glamorgan and Medieval Swansea', Glamorgan County History, Vol. III, p. 340 ; Robinson (1980) p. 37. Further important information regarding early settlement on the site of the later borough of Cowbridge is put forward in Evans, E.M. and Parkhouse, J.P. (1996) Excavations at Cowbridge. 1977-1988. British Archaeology Report, 245 (British Series).
7. Robinson (1980) p. 37.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid ; Beresford (1967) p. 116.
11. Ibid, p. 39.
12. Beresford (1967) pp. 134-37 ; Robinson (1980) p. 39.
13. Beresford (1967) p. 135.
14. Ibid.
15. Robinson (1980) p. 39.
16. See above, chapter three, p. 71.
17. Ibid ; Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1225-1232, p. 427.
18. Howell, R. 'Excavations at Trelech, Gwent, 1991-93 : An investigation of a decayed medieval urban settlement', Monmouthshire Antiquary 10 (1994) pp. 73-4.
19. Ibid ; as shall be seen below, the existing dwelling was replaced by a new structure, probably during the 1240's.
20. Ibid ; and idem, per. comm.
21. Beresford (1967) pp. 99-122.
22. Howell (1994) p.82.
23. See above, chapters two and three, passim.
24. Ibid, chapter three, passim ; Howell (1994) p. 72.
25. Howell (1994) p. 84. ; This assumption proved rather misguided, however, as Trelech was attacked twice in the 1290's, by Roger Bigod and Morgan ap Maredudd, Ibid, p. 73. Wood, J.G. (1922) The Island Chapel of St. Twrog in Severn and the Manors of Tintern Parva and Trelech, p. 87 ; Coram Rege Roll, 20 Edward I. Easter, rot. 22.
26. Howell (1994) p. 84.

27. Ibid.

28. Courtney, P. (1994) Report on the Excavations at Usk 1965-1976 : Medieval and Later Usk, p. 114. Current analysis of slag from Trelech should determine the origin of the ore.

29. See above, chapter three, p. 68, and chapter two, passim.

30. Ibid, chapter three, p. 68.

31. Clark, G.T. 'Llantrisant Charter', Archaeological Journal, XXIX (1872) pp. 351-9.

32. PRO. Ancient Extents, E142/88/1.

33. Soulsby (1983) p. 173.

34. PRO. Ancient Extents, E142/88/1 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971) p. 339.

35. Soulsby (1983) p. 173 ; Davies, J. Barry (1989) The Freeman and the Ancient Borough of Llantrisant, p. 9. Davies's assertion that two settlements existed alongside each other in 1262, one Welsh and the other English, would seem unlikely given the restricted area for development on the hilltop.

36. See above, chapters two and three, passim.

37. Ibid, chapter three, p. 68.

38. Griffiths, R.A. (1971) p. 340.

39. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III (Edward I) no. 371 p. 244. Many accounts of the history of Caerphilly claim that 118 burgages stood in 1288, but this stems from G.T. Clark's misdating of John Giffard's account of 1316 as 1288, Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent, Vol. III. no. 742. p. 812.

40. Soulsby (1983) p. 92 ; Rees, W. (1974) Caerphilly Castle and its place in the Annals of Glamorgan, p. 123

41. Ibid.

42. Lewis, J.M. 'The Roman Fort and Civil War Earthwork at Caerphilly Castle'. Archaeologia Cambrensis, XCV (1996) pp. 67-87.

43. Rees, W. (1974) p. 123-4.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. See above, chapter four, sub-sections two and three, passim.

47. Soulsby (1983) p. 34. The others were Caersws, Abergele, Hope, Fishguard, Mostyn, Newborough and St Asaph.

48. 'Llantwit Major and Cowbridge, a study of historic domestic architecture'. The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments in Wales (1989) p. 507 ; Robinson (1980) p. 37.

49. Ibid.

50. James and Francis (1979). p. 34.

51. Robinson (1980). p. 44.

52. Ibid. pp. 44-5.

53. Spurgeon, J. Glamorgan : Later Castles and Fortifications, R.C.A.H.M.W , forthcoming.

54. See below, pp. 146 ; The question of the town walls is fully explored in Ibid, and in Robinson (1980) pp. 44-7.

55. Some suggestions have been offered for the fact that the walls only enclosed a small area of the town as it stood in c.1314. One, offered by Robinson, is that the area selected was worthy of extra defence as it contained the market and church. In principle this appears entirely plausible, but the lack of any other form of defence around the rest of the town makes this unlikely, particularly when one considers the lack of a castle. A second explanation, offered by Turner, is that the walls were not defensive but "served to regulate ingress and egress and to facilitate the collection of tolls". This is particularly difficult to accept as a 25ft stone wall with surrounding ditch is somewhat excessive to facilitate the collection of tolls. Robinson (1980). p. 46. ; Turner, H. (1971) Town Defences in England and Wales. pp. 90-1.

56. Robinson (1980) p. 46.

57. Ibid. p. 45 : Hague, D.B. 'The Castles of Glamorgan and Gower', Glamorgan County History Vol. III p. 439.

58. A presentment of 1748 instructed Thomas Wyndham to keep clean the watercourse opposite John Long's pool, while the southern ditch is termed the "main gutter" in 1776. In 1853 the northern ditch is described as "an offensive open gutter ... containing a quantity of putrid matter". James and Francis (1979) foot note 3. p. 102. : Spurgeon, Forthcoming.

59. Robinson (1980). p. 44.

60. Ibid. pp. 45-6 and figures 9 and 11.

61. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

62. Hopkin-James, L.J. (1922) Old Cowbridge, pp. 48-9.

63. Smith, L.T. (ed.) (1906) The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland, 1536-9, p. 32. : Robinson (1980) p. 47. The precise location of the North Gate is unknown, but this would appear the most likely explanation.

64. Robinson (1980) p. 47.

65. Ibid, p. 40.

66. Ibid, p. 50.

67. Hopkin-James (1922) pp. 53-7.

68. Ibid, pp. 25-39 : Robinson (1980) p. 50. Like Kenfig, the surviving Ordinances date from much later, 1610, but in their basic form they are thought to date to c.1330.

69. Robinson (1980) p. 38.

70. Ibid, p. 39.

71. Ibid, figure 9, p. 40.

72. No reference is made in the surviving extents and Inquisitions Post Mortem to mills in the plural ; PRO E142/88/1 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. III, no. 371 ; IV, no. 435.

73. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Vol. IV, no. 435.

74. Excavations are continuing on the site of the medieval town, under the direction of Dr Raymond Howell, by the University of Wales College, Newport.

75. See above, chapters two and three, passim.

76. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Vol. IV, no. 435, it is significant that in a royal order of 1317 to the Exchequer to make payments to the constables of the Clares' castles in Wales, no sum was mentioned for the upkeep of Trelech. Calendar of Close Rolls, 1313-18, p. 408.

77. Soulsby, I.N. 'Trelech: a decayed borough of medieval Gwent'. Monmouthshire Antiquary. 4 iii & iv (1981-2) p. 41.

78. Courtney (1994) p.119.

79. Ibid ; Raymond Howell, pers. comm.

80. Courtney (1994), loc. cit.

81. The market is mentioned in PRO., SC6/1247/21 ; SC6/920/18 ; SC6/925/30 ; and Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371, to name but a few.

82. See below, pp. 147-8.

83. This feature is present at Usk, see above, chapter one, pp. 23-4.

84. See below, pp. 157-61.

85. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; ibid, IV, no. 435 ; ibid, V. no. 538 ; PRO., SC6/1247/21 ; SC6/925/23 ; SC6/925/24 ; SC6/925/28 ; SC6/926/1 ; SC6/926/9.

86. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; ibid, IV, no. 435 ; ibid, V, no. 538.

87. Wood, J.G. (1922) The Island Chapel of St. Twrog in Severn and the Manors of Tintern Parva and Trelech, p. 93.

88. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ibid, IV, no. 435 ; Wood, J.G. (1922) loc. cit. Gilbert de Clare erected a weir across the whole of the River Wye shortly before his death which obstructed traffic on the river to such an extent that it prevented ships from reaching Monmouth and the upper reaches of the river, see Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), II, pp. 48-9 ; Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales, p. 67 ; Ray Howell, pers. comm.

89. Raymond Howell, pers. comm.

90. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

91. Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales, p. 217 ; PRO., SC6/1202/6 demonstrates the effects of the attack of 1314-16 which left "47 burgages relinquished because of the war with the Welsh".

92. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

93. Rees, W. (1974) Caerphilly Castle and its place in the Annals of Glamorgan, p. 31.

94. Beresford (1967) p. 553.

95. Rees, W. (1974), plan of the castle.

96. Ibid, p. 31.

97. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; Richards, H.P. (1975) A History of Caerphilly, p. 42.

98. See above, chapter one, p. 23.

99. See above, chapter four, passim.

100. Davies, J. Barry (1989) The Freemen and the Ancient Borough of Llantrisant, p. 56.

101. Glamorgan County Records Committee, Two Ancient Boroughs : Cowbridge and Llantrisant, p. 16.

102. See above, chapter four, pp. 88-95 and above, p. 137.

103. Rees, W. (1974), p. 35; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371; IV, no. 435; V, no. 538.

104. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, IV, no. 435.

105. See above, chapter four, p. 91.

106. While watermills or windmills were usually seignorial constructions, burgesses were often free to build horse mills or hand mills. This was certainly true of Cardiff and this privilege may well have been granted to the burgesses of Llantrisant during the Clare period. Matthews, J.H. (1898) Cardiff Records, Vol. I, p. 13. This freedom was formally granted by Hugh le Despenser in his charter of 1346.

107. PRO., SC6/1202/7 ; SC6/1202/9.

108. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371.

109. See above, chapter four, p. 95.

110. PRO., Ancient Extents, E142/88/1.

111. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371. The figure of 233 is calculated from fixed rents of £11 12s 10d.

112. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, IV, no. 435.

113. Ibid, V, no.336.

114. Based upon the traditional calculation of multiplying the total burgage number by five.

115. See above, chapters one and four, passim.

116. See above, p. 133 ; Robinson (1980) p. 43.

117. Robinson (1980) loc. cit.

118. Ibid.

119. See above, p. 138 ; Soulsby, I. and Jones, D. Historic Towns in the Vale, p. 8.

120. Robinson (1980) loc. cit.

121. Ibid.

122. Butler, L.A.S., 'The Evolution of Towns; Planted Towns after 1066' in Barley (ed.) Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns, p. 39.

123. Ibid ; Robinson (1980) loc. cit.

124. Beresford (1967), p. 154.

125. Robinson (1980), p. 44.

126. Ibid, pp. 39-43.

127. Ibid, p. 43.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid, p. 39.

130. Ibid, pp. 39-41.

131. The Tithe Plan for Cowbridge and a copy of the first edition Ordnance Survey Map are held at the Glamorgan County Record Office; Robinson (1980) loc. cit.

132. PRO., SC6/1202/1 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371.

133. Robinson (1980), p. 41.

134. Ibid ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371.

135. Ibid, IV, no. 435.

136. Robinson (1980), p. 43.

137. See above, note 74.

138. PRO., SC6/1247/21.

139. Howell, R. (1994), p. 71 ; Wood, J.G. (1922) The Island Chapel of St. Twrog in Severn and the Manors of Tintern Parva and Trelech, p. 87 ; Coram Rege Roll, 20 Edward I. Easter rat. 22. The attack of Morgan ap Maredudd was a part of the wider rising but Bigod's assault was part of a quarrel between him and Gilbert over judicial rights regarding some of Gilbert's tenants of Usk lordship. Bigod claimed that some of Gilbert's tenants should do suit at his court of Striguil, his mandate appearing to be that the overlordship of Striguil still extended to all the limits of the old lordship of Netherwent. Retainers of Gilbert raided Striguil while Bigod's men retaliated by attacking Trelech.

140. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, IV, no. 435.

141. Ibid, V, no. 538.

142. Howell, R. (1994), p. 71.

143. Soulsby (1983) p. 257.

144. Bradney, J.A. (1904-33) A History of Monmouthshire, ii, part 2, p. 150.

145. Howell, R. (1994) pp. 73-78.

146. Ibid, p. 78.

147. Howell, R. pers. comm.

148. Courtney (1994), p. 123 ; Soulsby (1981-2) p. 41.

149. Soulsby (1981-2) p. 41.

150. Howell, R. 'A Report of Excavation of Medieval Industrial Site in Trelech, Gwent', Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales, II, (1989), pp. 62-80.

151. PRO., E142/88/1 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971) p. 339.

152. Matthews, J.H. (1989) Cardiff Records, p. 276.

153. Ibid, p. 284.

154. See above, chapter four, table one.

155. Beresford (1967) p. 555.

156. Soulsby (1983) p. 174.

157. The size of the burgages is stated in a presentment to the corporation of Llantrisant dated 1631 ; Morgan, T. (1898) History of Llantrisant, p. 54.

158. Beresford (1967), loc. cit.

159. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371.

160. Ibid, IV, no. 435; Beresford (1967), p. 553; at Caerphilly burgage rent was 6d p.a., not 12d.

161. Beresford (1967), p. 553.

162. See above, chapter four, p. 100 ; the burgage total of 95 in 1314 would give an estimated population of c.400 people.

163. Beresford (1967) loc. cit.

164. Ibid.

165. See above, p. 149.

166. See above, chapter four, pp. 101-07.

167. Ibid.

168. See above, p. 132 ; Llanbleddian Church's tithes belonged to Tewkesbury Abbey and were probably jealously guarded. Consequently, the influence of the Abbey meant that the chapel of Holy Cross at Cowbridge never achieved parochial status in the middle ages and its tithes belonged to Llanbleddian and, ultimately, Tewkesbury. Robinson (1980), pp. 50-51.

169. James and Francis (1979) pp. 41-43 ; Robinson (1980) p. 50; the chapel survives today as the church of the Holy Cross.

170. James and Francis (1979) p. 43.

171. Butler, L.A.S. 'Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Glamorgan and Gower', Glamorgan County History, ed. T.B. Pugh (1971) Vol. III, pp. 391-2.

172. Robinson (1980), loc. cit.

173. Butler (1971) pp. 391-2 ; Robinson (1980), p. 51 and note 124.

174. Robinson (1980), loc. cit.

175. Ibid; the reasons why the transepts were not built is unclear, although possibly it was related to a decline in the borough's prosperity in the later fourteenth century.

176. Ibid.

177. See above, chapter four, pp. 103-06.

178. Ibid, pp. 103-04 ; Clark, Cartae, IV, no. 963, p. 1204.

179. Clark, Cartae, loc. cit.

180. Ibid.

181. Evans, J.G. (ed.) (1893), Liber Landavensis : The Book of Llandav, pp. 199-200.

182. Bradney (1904-33), ii part 2, p. 150.

183. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1358-61, p. 212.

184. Soulsby (1981-2), p. 41.

185. Ibid.

186. See above, p. 151.

187. Ibid, p. 135.

188. See above, chapter four, pp. 104-07.

189. Davies, J. Barry (1989), p. 4.

190. Ibid ; Morgan, T. (1898), pp. 74-77 ; Lewis, D. (1975) The History of Llantrisant, pp. 20-22.

191. Davies, J. Barry (1989) pp. 6-7 ; Llantrisant may have comprised a part of the early sub-lordship of Clun which was held by le Sor before 1127 and he, according to Davies, built the church to serve the huge parish of Llantrisant at the instigation of Bishop Urban of Llandaf. The area was retaken in the later twelfth century, either by Caradog ap Iestyn or Morgan ap Caradog, and remained in Welsh hands until its recapture by Richard de Clare.

192. See above, chapter four, p. 104.

193. Richards, H.P. (1975) A History of Caerphilly, p. 74.

194. Soulsby (1983). p. 93.

195. The chapel at Caerphilly Castle is presumed to have been located to the east of the Great Hall, see Rees, W. (1974) p. 135 and plan of the castle.

196. See above, chapter four, pp. 101-07.

197. Ibid.

198. See above, p. 131 ; James and Francis (1979) p. 32.

199. Llantwit Major and Cowbridge : A Study of the Historic Domestic Architecture, RCAHMW (1989) p. 507.

200. See above, chapter four, pp. 107-08.

201. James and Francis (1979), p. 34.

202. The lordship of Tal-y-Fan was attacked in 1294 and 1316, but no mention is made of any damage at Cowbridge itself in the surviving evidence.

203. Ibid, p. 35; there is no direct reference to the frequency of the market during this period, but by the Elizabethan period it was held twice weekly on a Tuesday and a Saturday. Given the fact that during the Clare period only Usk and Cardiff are known to have had bi-weekly markets, however, it is more likely that Cowbridge initially would only have held its market once a week.

204. See above, chapter four, p. 108.

205. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371; and ibid, IV, no. 435.

206. James and Francis (1979), loc. cit. ; In John Giffard's account dated 1316, for example, the only reference to a fair is to the "festum Invencionis Sancte Crucis". PRO. SC6/1202/9.

207. James and Francis (1979), p. 35.

208. Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326, p. 145.

209. Hopkin-James (1922), pp. 25-6 ; the Ordinances are reprinted pp. 25-39.

210. Ibid.

211. See above, chapter four, pp. 107-116.

212. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371.

213. Hopkin-James (1922), loc. cit.

214. For Cardiff see above, chapter four, pp. 110-11.

215. Ibid, p. 109.

216. Ibid, pp. 110-11, 113, 115.

217. Clark, Cartae, III, no. 856, p. 1009.

218. See above, p. 137.

219. James and Francis (1979), p. 37.

220. PRO., SC6/1247/21 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; ibid, IV, no. 435 ; ibid, V, no. 538. All mention "toll of the borough" although no figure is given.

221. See above, chapter four, p. 113.

222. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371.

223. Ibid, IV no. 435; SC6/925/23 (1302-03) ; SC6/925/24 (1309-10) ; SC6/925/28 (1314-15) ; SC6/925/30 (1315-16).

224. See above, p. 136.

225. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. IV, no. 435.

226. Rees, W. (1924) South Wales and the March, p. 196.

227. Soulsby (1981-2), p. 42.

228. Ibid.

229. Howell, R. (1989), pp. 62-80.

230. Clarke, S., Owen-John, H. and Knight, J. 'Medieval Iron Working Trelech : A small salvage excavation with a list of early Bloomery sites in the Monmouth – Trelech Area', Monmouthshire Antiquary, IV, parts iii and iv (1981-82), pp. 45-49.

231. The full report on these excavations is contained in Howell, R. (1994) pp. 71-86.

232. Ibid, p. 73.

233. Ibid, pp. 73-74.

234. Ibid.

235. See above, p. 148 ; Howell (1994) p. 74.

236. Howell (1994), loc. cit.

237. Ibid, p. 75.

238. Ibid, p. 77.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid, p. 78.

241. Ibid.

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid ; Steve Clarke, pers. comm.

244. Howell (1994), pp. 79-80.

245. Ibid.

246. Howell, R. (1994) 'Trelech', Archaeology in Wales, Vol. 34 (1994) ; idem. 'Trelech', Archaeology in Wales, Vol. 35 (1995).

247. Ibid.

248. Clarke, S. 'Trelech : Court Farm' Archaeology in Wales, Vol. 34 (1994).

249. Howell, R. pers. comm.

250. PRO., SC6/928/24 ; Matthews, J.H. (1898) Cardiff Records, I, p. 278 ; and see above, chapter four, p. 116.

251. PRO., SC6/925/29 ; SC6/925/31.

252. Ibid.

253. Howell (1994), p. 84.

254. Ibid.

255. Ibid.

256. Ibid.

257. See above, chapter two, passim.

258. Howell (1994), p. 84.

259. Ibid. ; It was at this time, of course, that the burgage total was growing towards the peak of 378 in 1288.

260. Ibid.

261. PRO., SC6/1202/7 ; This account dated 1315 and compiled by Bartholomew de Badelesmere returns nothing in market tolls for either town because "Our lord the earl granted a free market for seven years by his charter, this being the third year".

262. Matthews (1898) Cardiff Records, I, p. 276.

263. Rees, W. (1974), p. 31.

264. Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales, p. 217 ; PRO., SC6/1202/7 ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; PRO., SC6/1202/9.

265. Ibid.

266. See above, chapter four, pp. 112-13.

267. See above, p. 161.

268. Griffiths, R.A. (1971), p. 339.

269. Ibid.

270. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371, ibid, V, no. 538. At Caerphilly the 96a consisted of 80a of arable land and 16a of meadow.

271. See above, chapter one, passim.

272. See above, chapter four, p. 114.

273. Clark, G.T. 'Llantrisant Charter'., Archaeological Journal, XXIX (1872), pp. 351-9. This charter effectively granted the liberties of Cardiff to Llantrisant.

274. There were no issues of the borough because "the country was devastated", although the Inquisition Post Mortem states that two mills usually returned 16 marks, a considerable sum if correct.

275. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371 ; PRO., SC6/925/23.

276. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, loc. cit.

277. PRO., SC6/925/23. In the other surviving Ministers Accounts for Trelech the issues rise to between £5 and £8 p.a., but it is important to recognise that all these subsequent accounts note that the issues were farmed to the burgesses, and thus may well be higher than the actual monies raised by the issues. Alternatively, they may simply reflect the possibility that the issues increased as the town's industrial role lessened. PRO, SC6/925/24 ; SC6/925/30 ; SC6/926/1 ; SC6/926/9.

278. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, IV, no. 435.

279. See above, p. 161.

280. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, III, no. 371. The low figure for burgage rents is explained by the fact that each burgage plot was rented for 6d. per annum rather than the usual 12d.

281. See above, chapter four, table two.

282. Ibid ; Cardiff produced a total income of £103 11s 9d. in 1314 ; Usk £82 19s 3½d. ; Newport £34 16s 2d. ; Caerleon £41 19s 3d.

283. Ibid.

284. See above, chapter four, p. 116. Kenfig returned £18 10s. 9d. in 1314.

285. Trelech seems to have declined gradually as in 1532 it was still valued at £8 1s. 5d., albeit a figure well down on its peak under the Clares. Caerphilly, meanwhile, seems to have lost all its burghal privileges, other than the right to hold a weekly fair, by 1578. See Owen, E. (ed.) Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum, iii, p. 605 (Trelech) and Rice Merrick's Book of Glamorganshire's Antiquities, p. 106 (Caerphilly).

PART THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEIGNEUR AND THE TOWNSPEOPLE

CHAPTER SIX

SEIGNEURIAL CONTROL AND BURGESS VITALITY

The century of Clare lordship in south-east Wales clearly represented a period of notable urban evolution and expansion, both in terms of the development of existing towns and the implantation and encouragement of new urban centres. This much has become apparent from the previous chapters. In terms of topography, infrastructure, burgage numbers, religious institutions and economic vitality, each of the towns in question was generally rather more advanced than it had been prior to entering Clare hands.[1] Recognising that the boroughs underwent a period of growth and development is, however, only the first step in understanding the evolution of the Clares' Welsh urban centres. Of equal, if not greater, importance is to identify why the ten boroughs developed as they did.

The encouragement, growth and development of a medieval town was reliant upon two distinct forces. The first of these, what we might term the 'top down' approach, was the influence of the lord himself upon the evolution of his urban centres. The town was, after all, a part of his estates and the lord had a direct interest in maximising his profits from them. There is perhaps a tendency, though, to view the seigneur as the dominant factor in the development of urban centres; not least because the majority of the surviving documentary evidence was seigneurial in origin. This was often not the case, however, as all medieval towns possessed a second important factor which influenced the shape of a borough's development; the burgesses themselves. The nature of medieval towns, those "non-feudal islands in the feudal seas", had clearly allowed the townspeople to obtain a degree of control over their own lives and the life of the town.[2] It is essential, therefore, to consider the role played by the burgesses; what we might term the organic element of urban development. Essentially, this chapter will seek to answer a single, defining question. Was the growth which occurred in the Clares' Welsh towns a direct consequence of seigneurial policy, or did it also reflect a growing influence on the part of the burgesses? By taking the developments discussed in chapters four and five, and placing them in the context of this question, it should be possible to obtain an understanding of the relative influence of the seigneur and the burgesses upon that notable urban expansion which appears to have occurred.

CHARTERS

In discussing this important question of the relative influence of seigneur and burgesses, perhaps the most logical starting point would be to consider the charters which were granted by the Clare earls of Gloucester to the inhabitants of their Welsh towns. More than any other element of medieval urban life, the formally granted charter stated the nature of the relationship between the seigneur and the burgesses of a specific town. From the large number of surviving charters granted to towns in England and Wales, it is clear that the liberties enjoyed by townspeople varied widely.[3] Consequently, where they survive, charters can often be a useful guide to how much freedom the seigneur was willing to grant to the townspeople, although we must be constantly aware that certain liberties were assumed by townspeople as a matter of convention.[4] These charters can broadly be divided into two basic groups, each of which will be considered in turn. Firstly, there is the wide ranging, comprehensive charter of

liberties that is often referred to as a charter of incorporation. Secondly, there are those shorter charters which were more limited in scope, granting a small number of freedoms to the burgesses of a particular town or towns.

The fact that six of the towns in question were founded prior to the Clare period of lordship would, perhaps, lead one to imagine that many would already have been endowed with a charter of incorporation. Indeed, as was briefly mentioned earlier, this was in fact the case in a number of the urban centres.[5] Cardiff appears to have been the first to receive a known charter of incorporation, awarded by Earl William of Gloucester at some point between 1147 and 1183.[6] In turn these "liberties and customs" of Cardiff, which were derived from the liberties of Tewkesbury, were extended to Neath in an undated charter of Earl William, while a similar unevidenced grant may also have been awarded to Kenfig.[7] Clearly, Cardiff acted as a model borough from an early date and as relatively small towns were awarded its liberties, we might reasonably expect the larger centre of Newport to have benefited from a formal charter of incorporation as well. Rather surprisingly, however, while a number of references survive to burgesses and their (unidentified) privileges during the twelfth century, no formal charter has survived from the period prior to the Clare rule.[8]

The apparent lack of an incorporating charter for Newport at this time was not unusual in wider terms, despite the high incidence of such grants in twelfth century Glamorgan. More than half of all the medieval towns of England and Wales have no surviving charter, while of the remainder very few are contemporary or near contemporary with the date of foundation.[9] These facts are borne out by the towns inherited from the Marshal lordship of Netherwent as neither Usk or Caerleon is known to have been granted such a charter prior to entering Clare control.[10] Like Newport, though, we cannot rule out the possibility that they may both have informally assumed the position of being a borough without actually being incorporated by charter. As early as 1170-76, for example, the fledgling town of Usk is referred to as "my burgh of Usk" by Richard Strongbow in his charter to Usk priory.[11]

A somewhat mixed pattern therefore confronted the Clares, with some of their newly inherited urban centres having been formally incorporated by charter while others, apparently, had yet to attain this level of definition in the relationship between seigneur and burgess.[12] When we consider the strong desire to consolidate their hold on their Welsh inheritance which so pre-occupied both Earl Richard and the 'Red Earl" we might imagine that they would have been keen to grant such charters to those towns previously unincorporated. In doing so, the earls would have been able to outline the liberties which they were prepared to allow the burgesses to enjoy and those privileges that they wished to reserve for themselves.[13] This does not seem to have occurred, however, as no known charter was granted to Caerleon, Usk, or Newport by a Clare earl of Gloucester.[14] Similarly, the existing charters at Cardiff, Neath, and (presumably) Kenfig continued largely unaltered with no known supplementary charters being added before 1314.[15]

This apparent reluctance on the part of the Clares to grant formal charters of incorporation was not limited to the inherited towns, as the evidence for such charters is almost as scarce for the new implantations of the thirteenth century. Of the four new towns, only Cowbridge is known to have been granted a charter of incorporation. In common with Neath and Kenfig, however, Cowbridge did not

receive a unique set of liberties but rather was granted the liberties and customs of Cardiff by Richard de Clare in 1254.[16] In complete contrast meanwhile, Trelech, Caerphilly, and Llantrisant received no charter of incorporation during this period. Indeed, Trelech and Caerphilly appear not to have been granted such a charter at any time during the Middle Ages, although Llantrisant followed the pattern seen in a number of the inherited towns by attaining a charter during the period of Despenser lordship.[17]

It would seem fair to state, therefore, that the century of Clare lordship in south east Wales was one which exhibited little tendency towards the granting of full charters of incorporation. Yet what does this apparent lack of charters tell us regarding the respective influence of the seigneur and the burgesses? In itself very little, for beyond the single charter granted to Cowbridge the surviving documentary sources are silent regarding the attitudes of both the earls and the townspeople to the question of formal incorporation by charter. It would seem likely that we can dismiss the possibility of the Clares following a distinctive, homogenous policy towards the granting of such charters, however. To claim that such a policy existed would be to ignore the apparent variation in the awarding of such grants, in particular why Cowbridge alone was endowed with a charter during the Clare period. Indeed, to imagine that the earls would have adopted a formal policy towards the incorporation of their towns by charter is to ignore the realities of thirteenth century lordship, and runs the risk of imagining a degree of cohesion which was simply not there. A much more likely explanation for the relative lack of such charters in the Clare towns is that neither the earls or the burgesses of the towns in general held a pre-determined line towards the awarding of charters. Each of the ten towns was, after all, an individual settlement with individual factors behind its development; this much has been clear throughout the study. As with the other factors and institutions which shaped the evolution of the towns, is it not more likely that the granting of charters of incorporation would have been a reaction to the needs of an individual town rather than a matter of general policy on the part of the seigneur? The lack of evidence makes definitive statements impossible, but a number of suggestions can be put forward as to what these individual needs might have been.

In addition to their most obvious role of formally stating the liberties enjoyed by burgesses, charters of incorporation can be of great interest to historians as they can sometimes offer clues to the origins and backgrounds of the burgesses of a newly implanted town. Prospective burgesses were not drawn from the countryside alone, but were also attracted from other towns where people generally possessed more experience in trades and crafts.[18] Often the existing town from which these people were drawn could be a considerable distance away, but in many cases it was held by the lord of the new planation.[19] Indeed, this may well have been the reason why Cardiff was awarded the liberties of Tewkesbury by William, earl of Gloucester; Tewkesbury possibly provided a number of burgesses or at least acted as a mustering point for potential townsmen from the earl's west of England lands and beyond.[20] In turn, over a century later, a similar situation may have occurred at Cowbridge. Rather than being drawn from Tewkesbury, however, it is possible that at least a proportion of the settlers at Earl Richard's new town were attracted from nearby Cardiff.[21] If they were to be attracted successfully, the earl would have to provide comparable conditions in the new settlement to those they had previously enjoyed. Consequently, Richard granted the liberties and customs of Cardiff to

Cowbridge soon after its foundation. This represents an attractive theory and a logical explanation, but unfortunately insufficient evidence has survived regarding the names and origins of the burgesses of Cowbridge to substantiate it.

Given that Cowbridge was granted this charter fairly early in its life, it is rather surprising that no such charter was granted to the contemporary implantations of Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly. Once again little evidence has survived, but some suggestions can still be put forward as to why this was the case. Regarding Llantrisant and Caerphilly, their small size and primarily military role may well have been central, while the origins of the inhabitants may again have been a factor. The clauses contained within a typical charter of incorporation were often largely concerned with economic and social freedoms which promoted towns as centres of trade and commerce. Obviously, this was more important in a town like Cowbridge than one like Llantrisant. The prime role of the inhabitants of the castle-boroughs was to grow food for themselves and the castle, and to support the cost of the garrisons by means of burgage rent.[22] This clearly would have required less skilled townsmen, and thus could be performed by the inhabitants of local manors. In such cases, the basic freedoms enjoyed by all townsmen, whether written down or not, proved sufficient incentive without the more advanced liberties contained within a charter. The medieval maxim that "town air makes free" was certainly the case in this situation.[23] In any case, the Clares were themselves the lords of the manors and would not have conceded liberties unless it was absolutely necessary.[24] Indeed, if a proportion of the population of Llantrisant was, as has been suggested, Welsh, the Clares would have been doubly reluctant to award the town a charter.[25]

This possible explanation for the lack of charters of incorporation at Llantrisant and Caerphilly does not extend to the contemporary situation at Trelech. If the archaeological evidence suggesting widespread iron smelting in the town proves to be correct, the population would have been relatively highly skilled and must surely have been recruited in large numbers from outside the immediate hinterland of the settlement. This is likely to have included attracting iron workers from other centres of production such as Gloucester, Monmouth, or the Forest of Dean although once again a lack of evidence regarding the inhabitants and where they came from precludes us from substantiating this suspicion.[26] To do this the Clares must have offered similar, or indeed better, conditions at Trelech. Whether this was achieved by means of a formal charter which has since been lost, or by the type of informally assumed freedoms and customs seen at Newport, is unclear.[27] Of course, it is possible that neither occurred and that the Clares subjected this important industrial centre to more rigorous seigniorial control. It is, however, hard to see how they could have done this and still attracted sufficient skilled ironworkers.

The situation in the remaining six towns appears to have been one in which the status quo was largely preserved for the duration of the period of Clare lordship. At Cardiff, Neath, and (we presume) Kenfig the twelfth century charters of Earl William seem to have continued largely unchanged, the existing freedoms being broadly acceptable to both seigneur and burgesses in their basic form. Caerleon, Newport, and Usk, meanwhile, appear to have continued as 'boroughs by prescription'.[28] Whether applications were made for charters by the burgesses to the earls, which were subsequently

refused, we don't know, but no documentary evidence has survived to suggest that this was the case. Alternatively, the burgesses of the three towns may have been satisfied with the situation as it stood, simply seeking additional informal privileges when required.

Indeed, while instances of full charters of incorporation are rare during the Clare period, they did not form the sum total of the Clares' endowments to their towns. A number of more limited charters have survived which grant specific privileges to the inhabitants of a town or towns, demonstrating that the Clares' were not adverse to awarding privileges.[29] The earliest known example of these 'lesser' charters was that awarded to the burgesses of Neath by the Red Earl on 20 April 1280, which granted permission for a fair to be held in the town on the Feast of the Vigil of St. Margaret.[30] Unfortunately, no documentary evidence has survived aside from the actual charter itself, and this makes it impossible to identify what motivated this grant. On the one hand it might have been instigated by the earl himself, keen to maximise his revenue from the town in the form of the tolls and court profits which would be collected over the three days which the fair was held.[31] Alternatively, the charter may have been granted by Gilbert in response to petitioning by the burgesses who wished to expand the commercial role of the town. Without new evidence it is impossible to judge which explanation is the more likely, but the establishment of a fair at Neath was certainly of benefit to both parties.[32]

Neath was not alone in receiving the right to hold a fair during this period, as Trelech, Cowbridge, and Llantrisant are all known to have been granted the same right during the Clare tenure.[33] Indeed, a number of the inherited towns may also have gained similar rights at this time, although there is no evidence to confirm it.[34] Unlike Neath, however, the charters granting fairs to the three new plantations mentioned have not survived. In Cowbridge's case it may have accompanied or been part of the general charter of incorporation.[35] Again, the lack of surviving documentary evidence makes it difficult to identify the motivations behind the charters. But, the very fact that they were granted reinforces the view that the Clare earls were not adverse to awarding liberties, particularly when they themselves were likely to feel the benefit.

To suggest that the Clares only granted charters for purely selfish reasons, however, would be unfair. During the lordship of Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert a further example of these 'lesser' charters emerges. In 1312, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, Earl Gilbert issued a charter which proclaimed that the use of markets in Caerphilly and Llantrisant was to be free from toll for seven years.[36] Unlike the more ambiguous reasons behind the granting of fairs, this latter grant would appear to have been to the earl's disadvantage. However, it was of benefit to the townspeople. By removing the toll, the markets would have become more attractive to the visitors to the towns and this may well have resulted in greater trading opportunities for the burgesses. This represented something of a double edged sword, however, for while it increased trade it also removed one of the main privileges which the burgesses probably enjoyed by prescription; the sole right to free trade within the town.[37] It is important to realise that the burgesses were not the sole occupants of the towns. Free tenants, cottars, and others dwelt in all medieval towns without enjoying the privileges reserved for the full burgesses, and in fact it was these groups who would have benefited the most from Earl Gilbert's grant.

Previously, like visitors, they would have had to pay tolls on goods which they wished to trade in the market. Now, for seven years, they were free from this costly burden.[38] Despite the lack of any further documentary evidence, it would seem that Gilbert's grant represents a conscious effort by the seigneur to encourage the economies of his small castle boroughs. The townspeople all benefited economically to varying degrees while the low level of trade in both towns meant that the seigneur himself was actually giving away little in terms of overall profit.[39]

Grants of privileges were not, however, always initiated by the Clares themselves. In 1284 the burgesses of Cardiff, among other places, petitioned for leave to use such of the Hereford Customs as suited their requirements.[40] This application was apparently made directly to the burgesses of Hereford who seem to have granted this request by favour; stating that they were not compelled to grant their laws to towns under mediate lords.[41] The burgesses of Cardiff probably made a monetary payment and in return they received a document entitled "John le Gaunter's Customs", le Gaunter being the Chief Bailiff of Hereford.[42] It begins:

> "John le Gaunter, Chief Bailiff of Hereford, having called twelve men unto him, requested certain customs heretofore used and approved, and which it behoved them to send to be certified unto the men of Kerdiff then desiring the same, also for the use of other vills whose necessity should require them".[43]

During the course of the text it goes on to define the customary laws of Hereford regarding debts between merchants and traders, the punishment of wilful transgressors, the holding of various courts, tenant services, Writ of Right, Assizes of Bread and Ale, scolding women, and the means of defence when attacked by 'the Welshmen'.[44]

It is unclear what the reasons behind this application were, as once again there is no surviving documentary evidence beyond the grant of the customs themselves. The most likely explanation, however, would appear to be that the application was the result of a desire by the burgesses formally to extend their liberties beyond those contained in Earl William's charter. As the town had developed, and the burgesses had become increasingly wealthy and organised, there may have been a feeling on the part of the inhabitants that the existing customs needed to be extended. This much is suggested by the clauses outlined above, many of which concern trading. In itself, the decision to apply to Hereford was logical for the reason that the existing liberties of Cardiff, although drawn from Tewkesbury, originated in the first place in Hereford.[45] Indeed, the receipt of the customs of Hereford may offer an explanation why the existing liberties of Cardiff appear not to have been extended by the Clare earls themselves. It is possible that the Red Earl may have granted permission to the burgesses to make the approach to Hereford, although the lack of any evidence means we cannot be sure. Alternatively, the application may have been an entirely independent action on the part of the burgesses. This might even have been because a number of the customs were in informal use and the burgesses required formal confirmation, perhaps because they were faced by a restrictive seigneurial attitude on the part of the Red Earl. Such speculation is of dubious value, but the point which can be drawn from this discussion is that, at least in the larger towns, the burgesses were capable of attempting to improve their own position and the position of the town by acting as a unified body.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BOROUGHS

This apparently unified action on the part of the burgesses of Cardiff leads us to consider the next important point in the question of seigneurial and burgess influence upon the development of the urban centres; namely the respective roles of both in the government of the boroughs. If, as would seem likely, the burgesses were taking an active role in attempting to expand the liberties they enjoyed, it would also be extremely interesting to gain an understanding of the role which they played in the day to day administration of the boroughs. If we are to understand the respective roles of the seigneur and the burgesses in the development of the boroughs properly, it is essential to see the respective influence of both in the day to day running of the towns.

From the earlier discussion of the administrative organisation of the Clares' Welsh lordships, it will be remembered that the government of the towns came under the overall jurisdiction of the sheriff of Glamorgan and the seneschal of Usk in matters of general and judicial administration, and under the receiver (later treasurer) of Cardiff in financial matters.[46] Beneath this tier of overall control were organised the various offices of local administration, one unit of which was the towns themselves. From soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and the implantation of the first alien communities, the local administrative structure of towns in general adopted a familiar pattern.[47] The principal agent of the seigneur in most towns in the March was the constable of the castle to which the town was attached. Under the authority of the constable were a number of lesser officials. Most familiar was the Reeve, who was responsible for collecting the rents and farms due to the lord, answering for the issues to the receiver, and also fulfilling the unenviable role of speaking to the burgesses for the earl, and to the earl for the burgesses.[48] Aside from the Reeve, or 'Town Reeve', or 'Portreeve' as the office was also styled, most medieval towns also possessed a Bailiff who was responsible to the constable, and ultimately the sheriff, for the maintenance of the peace in the borough. He assisted in the holding of courts, served summons, and collected fines and amercements, as well as carrying out the instructions of the Reeve.[49] Below the Reeve and Bailiff in the strata of urban government were a number of lesser officials responsible for specific roles in the economic life of a town, a prime example being the Tasters of Ale who collected the 'prise' and ensured the quality of the ale being brewed.[50]

This pattern was largely replicated in the Clares' Welsh towns, although the lack of surviving documentary evidence means that much of the detail of the internal administration is unclear. Turning firstly to Cardiff, it is known that from the early twelfth century the town was administered by its lord via the Constable of Cardiff castle whose authority extended over the whole of Glamorgan but who had special responsibility for the borough.[51] A Reeve was in place virtually from the foundation of the borough, and the first to appear in the surviving records is 'William of Cardiff' who held the office in 1119.[52] Mention is also made of a bailiff in the charter of Earl William, but whether it refers to the town bailiff or the bailiff of the lordship of Glamorgan is unclear.[53]

The relative lack of surviving evidence for the Clare period of lordship makes it difficult to identify how internal administration developed from the twelfth century model. The little evidence which has survived does not, however, suggest that it departed radically from the earlier pattern. Certainly, there is no suggestion that Cardiff progressed as far as adopting lay self government and an

elective assembly of the type seen in the more developed organic towns in England.[54] Rather, in essence, it is likely to have been broadly similar to the pattern exhibited in the town in the later fourteenth century. In the charter of Hugh le Despenser, granted in 1340, the burgesses annually elected four of their number from whom the Constable of Cardiff castle chose two to act as Reeves for the year, conducting town affairs and holding the borough court fortnightly.[55] The burgesses also submitted two names for the election of a Bailiff as well as nominations for the two Tasters of Ale.[56] All these posts are likely to have been in existence during the Clare period, although there may only have been a single Reeve. What is unknown, however, is whether the burgesses fulfilled the role of putting forward their own elected nominations for the offices of Reeve, Bailiff, and Ale Tasters. It is possible that the officers were in fact chosen by the constable from suitable townsfolk without recourse to the burgess population as a whole, but this would seem unlikely. The concept of burgess nomination was well established across the March and it would, therefore, appear more probable that the Clare lands would have followed this wider pattern; particularly considering the size of Cardiff and the apparent independence of the burgesses in applying for the customs of Hereford.[57]

The structure of internal government exhibited at Cardiff would appear to have been broadly the same in the other towns held by the Clares during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, albeit with minor alterations. Neath and Kenfig, having been granted the liberties of Cardiff early in their development, appear consequently to have broadly adopted the same structure of administration. It is interesting to note, however, that only the Reeve is evidenced at Neath in 1263, with no reference being made to a Bailiff.[58] The absence of the Bailiff may have been an oversight, but equally, given the small size of the town, the Reeve may have fulfilled the functions of both offices. At Newport, the administration was headed by the Constable of Newport castle and under him were a Reeve and Bailiff, again apparently chosen from burgess nominations.[59] In Usk and Caerleon, it would seem that this familiar pattern was repeated yet again, with the Constables of the respective castles being assisted by Reeves and Bailiffs, both of which are mentioned in the surviving documentary evidence.[60]

As with so many aspects of development in the towns inherited by the Clares, it is difficult to establish how much of this administrative structure was in place prior to their entering Clare hands. However, it would seem that this typical structure of administering Marcher towns was deemed to have been perfectly adequate for the Clares' new implantations as well. At Cowbridge, the chief official in the borough was actually the Constable of Cardiff castle for the simple reason that Cowbridge itself was unaccompanied by a castle.[61] Once again, below this office of seigneurial authority existed a Reeve and a Bailiff who were selected from nominations put forward by the burgesses.[62] This picture is replicated at Llantrisant and Caerphilly, each of which appears to have possessed a Constable, Reeve, Bailiff, and probably also the lesser office of Taster of Ale.[63] Indeed, this last office is likely to have existed in most of the towns.

The question of the structure of town government is a little more complicated at Trelech, however. In common with the other towns, a Reeve and Bailiff were certainly in existence as both are mentioned in the surviving primary evidence.[64] The problem exists concerning the presence of a Constable at the head of the borough's administration. There was certainly a Constable of Trelech

castle when the Clares inherited the area, as the Sheriff of Hereford is recorded as holding the post in 1245.[65] It will be remembered, though, that by the early fourteenth century the castle was in disuse and the need for a Constable removed.[66] Did this result in the borough of Trelech coming under the jurisdiction of the Constable of Usk castle, or did the Constable of Trelech remain to administer the town alone? Whichever was the case, the overall structure of the administration was the same as elsewhere.

It is clear from this discussion, therefore, that all of the towns held by the Clares possessed much the same structures of government. This similarity is unsurprising, however, as the towns in question merely reflected the pattern which was typical of urban government in general during this period.[67] Yet having understood the structure of the government in the towns, the question we must ask ourselves is how much of a practical role did it afford the burgesses in the everyday running of the towns? Clearly, the fact that the burgesses of each town were able to put forward nominations for the offices of Reeve and Bailiff gave them an active role in selecting the administration. This was particularly important in the case of the Reeve, for in addition to his day to day activities, he was the means of communication between the burgesses and the earl.[68] Chosen by the constable from a list of burgess nominations, the Reeve was someone acceptable to, and trusted by, both the seigneur and the burgesses. The Reeve and Bailiff, as well as serving the earl were also representing and serving their fellow townspeople.

The positive role which the burgesses played in the general and financial administration was replicated in the judicial life of the towns. The town court, or the borough hundred court to give it its correct title, dealt with most legal disputes involving the townspeople. The borough court represented, in the first instance, the independence of the borough in comparison with the surrounding manorial areas who were obliged to use the general hundred court.[69] This privilege is clearly shown in the charter of Earl William to Cardiff:

> "the burgesses ought not to go to the court of the Hundred outside the borough for any sort of summons".[70]

More than this, however, it had the practical implication of providing a single court where the business of a town was understood and which allowed the defence and prosecution equal terms. Unlike the hundred courts outside the towns, which were made up entirely of the earl's officials and associates, the borough courts used juries composed of fellow burgesses.[71] Furthermore, any fines or amercements from such a case were to be determined and levied by the Reeve and his Bailiff who, of course, were also fellow burgesses.[72] On occasion, burgesses even received favourable terms in cases originating outside of the borough. In such cases, juries of inquisition often had to be made up half of fellow burgesses and half of others, obviously beneficial to the accused, while any penalties which followed prosecution were actually determined by the town Bailiff.[73] Burgesses also enjoyed superior treatment during trial compared to their counterparts on the manor, for unless they were captured with stolen goods in their possession, or were unable to find surety, they were safe from imprisonment.[74] In return for these important and wide ranging privileges, attendance at the borough court on the summons of the Bailiff was compulsory as a civic duty as well as a civic right inherent in their status.[75]

These judicial freedoms, common to many medieval urban centres, would appear to have been widely enjoyed in the Clares' Welsh towns. They are explicitly referred to in Earl William's charter to Cardiff and, consequently, had also been extended to Neath, Kenfig, and Cowbridge when they in turn were granted the same liberties.[76] At Newport, Llantrisant, and Usk these freedoms are not explicitly referred to until after the Clare period, but in each case they were probably assumed long before this official confirmation.[77] Likewise, at those towns seemingly unincorporated throughout the Middle Ages, Trelech and Caerphilly, such freedoms were again probably assimilated by the townsfolk.[78] These judicial liberties, albeit often granted before the period of Clare control, allowed the burgesses a further active role in the administration of their town.

Beyond this understanding of the role of the burgesses in the judicial, financial, and general administration of their towns, very little can be said regarding their involvement in the complexities of the organisation of urban life. For example, nowhere in the surviving evidence is there any reference to the constitution of the boroughs, specifically who should be burgesses and how they were elected.[79] Initially, prospective burgesses would have approached the lord who would have been anxious to attract settlers to his new venture. This would probably have been true of the Clares' new plantations, at least in their formative years of development. Later, however, from the end of the thirteenth century when competition between towns increased, established boroughs increasingly took on an oppressive taint.[80] Town institutions became restrictive, hostile to newcomers, and suspicious of innovation.[81] How this affected the Clares' Welsh towns is unrecorded, and we have no explicit reference to the burgesses of any of the ten towns setting conditions of entry for new prospective burgesses. This may well have occurred, though, particularly in Cardiff where the existence of a Guild Merchant suggests that the burgesses possessed a measure of unity and a desire to defend their own interests.[82]

The shortage of surviving primary evidence for the towns during the Clare period is an undoubted hindrance in trying to understand the respective roles of the seigneur and the burgesses in the internal administration of the ten boroughs. Nevertheless, from the material which is available it is fair to state that the burgesses appear to have experienced no more, and certainly no less, freedom and involvement than their contemporaries in towns elsewhere in the March.[83] More than anything, however, the structure of government demonstrates the fact that to be successful the medieval town had to act as a partnership, with the seigneur and burgesses acting in concert for the benefit of both parties. From the viewpoint of the seigneur, strong control over his towns was maintained through his constables who administered his will and looked after his interests. With mutually acceptable candidates installed each year as Reeves and Bailiffs, the lord ensured that his economic interest in the town continued to be exploited. At the same time, though, the seignorial control was not too oppressive and the burgesses were able to take a direct, if limited, role in the administration as well as enjoying considerable personal freedom. Indeed, it was not until the fifteenth century that this balance in the roles of the seigneur and townspeople was radically altered with the introduction of aldermen as an effective governing elite.[84]

THE FABRIC OF THE BOROUGHS

So far in this chapter, our attention has been focused upon the rights, privileges, and freedoms enjoyed by the burgesses and how this shaped the role that they played in the administration of the towns. Yet the question of the respective influences of seigneur and townspeople goes much further than a simple investigation of such patterns. It also embraces the physical development of the towns; the infrastructure and topography in all its constituent parts and forms. It is clear from the earlier discussions of the towns' development that the infrastructure and topography of each borough evolved steadily throughout the Clare period.[85] This much is not in question. What needs to be considered is the respective influences of the seigneur and the burgesses upon these evolutionary developments. Hopefully this will allow a further contribution to be made to understanding the overall contribution of the seigneur and the burgesses to the expansion of the Clares' urban centres.

Turning firstly to defensive provisions, perhaps the most conspicuous development in a town's infrastructure and topography, it will be remembered that a number of the urban centres in question experienced notable advances. Cardiff, Neath, and Cowbridge all developed stone defences, while Trelech appears to have been equipped with earthen banks by its founders.[86] These were all important features, particularly the masonry constructions, but who was responsible for their construction? Nothing has survived of the original building records for any of the defences, while none of the extant accounts make any reference to the payment of the toll of murage during the period in question. It may well have been the case, however, that murage, and other tolls such as pontage and pavage (for the upkeep of bridges and streets respectively), were charged but were simply entered into the account as general tolls.[87] This obviously makes it extremely difficult to apportion responsibility for construction and upkeep, but from the little evidence we do have concerning the defences it is possible to offer some suggestions as to whose liability they were. At Neath, it would appear that the defences of the borough were rebuilt in stone at much the same time as Richard de Clare was remodelling the castle between c.1243 and 1258.[88] This fact, combined with the small size and relatively underdeveloped economy of the town at the time would suggest that the masonry defences which enclosed Neath were the work of the earl himself, motivated by purely defensive considerations. This belief is reinforced by the fact that repairs to the 'Great Gate of the Bailiwick' were made at the expense of the royal keeper in 1315-16.[89] This would suggest that walls were a seigneurial responsibility, although the townspeople may well have lobbied the lord to make such a provision.[90]

The background to the construction of the defences at Cowbridge is rather better understood and responsibility for their erection more easily apportioned. It will be recalled that a fairly detailed examination of Cowbridge's defences was made earlier in this study, and it emerged that the stone walls were likely to have been contemporary or near contemporary with the foundation of the borough.[91] Clearly, this meant that the burgess population, which at this date was tiny, could have played little role in the construction of the walls. Although no record survives of repairs being made to the defences, it is more than likely that as with Neath the burden would have fallen to the seigneur, who would have paid men temporarily hired for the purpose.[92] This was probably funded by the tolls of the market and fairs.

The contemporary situation at Cardiff is rather more complicated, not least because the date of construction of the walls is less readily identified. Conceivably they could have been erected at any time between 1263 and 1314, but as was mentioned earlier it would appear most likely that they were either built during the lordship of the Red Earl or immediately after as a reaction to the rebellion of Morgan ap Maredudd.[93] In common with Neath, Cardiff castle underwent significant change when the Red Earl added the 'Black Tower' at some point between 1263 and 1295, and it may be that the town walls were built as part of the fortification.[94] Certainly, from the documentation that survives from the period of Royal wardship between 1314 and 1317 it would again appear that the burden of maintenance lay with the seigneur. In Bartholomew de Badelesmere's account for the borough dated 1314, an entry entitled 'Stipends and Wages' accounts for

> "... the stipend of four men for three days, mending walls in various places 4s. at 3d. a day each".[95]

This is perhaps rather more surprising in the case of Cardiff than that of Neath for the greater wealth of the burgesses of the Clares' Welsh caput meant that they would have been in a position to initiate, or at least contribute towards, the construction of this defensive circuit. From the available evidence, however, this would not appear to have been the case.

Given this apparent seigneurial responsibility for masonry defences, we can only suppose that the building and upkeep of earthern defences at the other urban centres would also have been within the lord's remit. Newport, Usk, and Caerleon appear to have retained their existing defences which, by their nature, would have been less costly to maintain and rebuild than stone walls. Some development may have occurred at Newport in the form of stone gates, but as was mentioned earlier there is no conclusive evidence that this occurred during the Clare period.[96] Consequently, the only other town which can reasonably be adjudged to have developed defences during Clare tenure was Trelech. If the earthern bank which exists was, as would seem likely, part of an enclosing circuit, the major problem we face is to attribute a date of construction.[97] The existence of some small scale settlement on the site prior to it entering Clare lordship raises the possibility that these defences may have been in place prior to 1245.[98] The enclosed area appears to be excessive in size for this limited settlement, however, strongly suggesting that the defences were constructed after 1245 when the town can be said to have been properly founded. As at Cowbridge, the most likely explanation is that the defences were probably a part of Richard de Clare's initial laying out of the town, and thus once again a seigneurial responsibility.

Of course, the defences were not the only part of infrastructure and topography which could be influenced by both the seigneur and the burgesses. A second area of town development which could be shaped by both sets of influences was the expansion of the living area; that is the streets, suburbs, and burgage layouts. From the earlier discussion of these factors, it became clear that a number of the towns in question experienced noticeable growth in their living area during the Clare period of lordship.[99] To what extent, though, were these changes the work of the seigneur, and how much was down to the burgesses? As will be remembered, towns which either developed in their entirety or experienced identifiable growth in their street plans during Clare tenure were Cardiff, Cowbridge,

Caerphilly, Llantrisant, Newport, Trelech, and Usk.[100] Expansion may also have occurred at Caerleon, Neath, and Kenfig, but it is rather more difficult in these cases to identify if it occurred, in whole or part, during the Clare period.[101] That growth which is readily identifiable followed two distinctive patterns which were typical of the medieval town. On the one hand there were the grid-like additions, which demanded a certain amount of conscious planning, and on the other were instances of apparently less regulated linear growth.

Turning firstly to grid-like areas, this type of expansion can be seen to have occurred at Cardiff, Newport, Llantrisant, and Trelech.[102] Traditional thought would suggest that this type of development, which became increasingly common in the thirteenth century, reflects a conscious effort of planning. To set roads at right angles and then divide the resulting insulae into equal burgage plots required a certain amount of skill and organisation. Consequently, they tend to reflect the conscious work of a seigneur and his planners rather than the burgesses themselves developing land set aside in a more ad hoc manner.[103] It seems reasonable to argue that his traditional model was followed in the case of the Clares' Welsh towns. At Llantrisant and Trelech this seigneurial planning is likely to have occurred from the outset, with the street plans being laid out along with burgage plots as increasing numbers of settlers were drawn to the towns. The situation at Cardiff and Newport, meanwhile, was one where new areas of development were added to the existing core in order to accommodate expanding populations during the thirteenth century.[104] This would seem to have been achieved by extending both towns into undeveloped meadowlands to the south of the existing settlements.[105] The layout of these southern additions, which were clearly shown in figures 12 and 13, again suggests that they were the work of deliberate seigneurial planning.[106]

Not all the towns held by the Clares expanded in the form of these grid developments, however, with Cowbridge and Caerphilly developing as linear settlements and the existing borough of Usk expanding in a similar fashion. Linear settlements, as the name suggests, tended to expand along a single major roadway rather than around a grid of streets. As Beresford identified, this was the simplest way of setting out a town as it

> "made no more demands on techniques of measurement than the ability to set out a straight line [and] divide it into equal portions".[107]

Of the Clare towns which followed this pattern, Caerphilly was perhaps the classic example for as was seen in figure 21, it was mostly located along a single road which ran in front of the East Gate of the castle and which then split into two either side of the market place.[108] At Cowbridge, the town was rectilinear in layout with the major road (the Port Way) being bisected at right angles by a lesser street (North Road/Rood Street). This gave the town an almost cruciform layout, as demonstrated in figure 18.[109] Within the inherited town of Usk, meanwhile, thirteenth century growth has been identified as being accommodated by means of linear development along Maryport Street, Porth-y-Carne Street, and Olway Street (see figure 15).[110]

In comparison with the grid plan towns, it is far less easy to attribute responsibility for linear development and expansion. At Cowbridge, this question has already been discussed in considerable detail and on the strength of the existing evidence it would seem that its layout was the work of careful

seigneurial planning.[111] The layout of Caerphilly and the expansion at Usk are rather more difficult to ascribe to either party, however. The burgage pattern of medieval Caerphilly is alluded to in the first edition of the six inch Ordnance Survey plan of the town which suggests a fairly ordered layout of the burgages, although some question marks must be placed alongside this nineteenth century plan accurately representing the original medieval burgages.[112] Whether these were laid out in the strictly planned manner witnessed at Cowbridge is unclear, particularly as the development of the town from the mid-nineteenth century onwards precludes any investigation into possible phases of growth. Given the small size of the town, its primary role of supporting the castle, and the lack of any obvious defensive enclosure, however, it might well have been the case that seigneurial planning went no further than simply stating the size of the burgage plots. As settlers were attracted to the town, burgages may well have been granted along the road which then developed in a rather ad hoc manner. Indeed, much the same may have occurred at Usk where new burgages spread in a less than planned manner from the Norman core below the castle.[113]

Linear development also occurred in a number of towns in the form of suburban growth. Of course, much of Cowbridge and part of the expansion already discussed at Usk were suburban in as much as they were extra mural, but there were also separate suburban communities at Cardiff, Caerleon, Kenfig, Newport, probably at Trelech, and possibly also at Neath.[114] In each case the development was classically linear, following the line of a particular street as it left the defensive enclosure via a gate, with the one exception of Caerleon whose main suburb, the burgages 'ultra pontem', was on the opposite bank of the river Usk.[115] Again, it appears unlikely that much in the way of detailed planning went into their development. Probably they developed as relatively uncoordinated 'overspill' from the main areas of the towns as the populations outgrew the straight-jackets of walls, banks, and ditches.

Despite this apparently variable approach towards planning in the Clares' Welsh towns, the management of urban growth is likely to have ultimately been the responsibility of the earl and his officials. Towns were often carved out of existing manorial lands and thus had strict boundaries which had to be rigidly adhered to. Amongst the towns in question here, Cowbridge represents the best example of this, but it was also a concern elsewhere.[116] Even when there was plenty of room for expansion, planning still remained a seigneurial responsibility. Given the rather elementary involvement of the townsfolk in the government and administration of the boroughs in question, it appears unlikely that the burgesses would have been granted responsibility for internal planning. Applications for new burgages would have been addressed to the earl, or more likely one of his officials, who, if the application was suitable, would then allocate a plot to be developed by the burgess himself.[117]

The topography and infrastructure of the towns incorporated a number of other features and structures in addition to defences and internal layout, such as bridges, mills, quays, and other constructions. A number of these were, quite clearly, seigneurial in origin. During the period of Clare lordship, mills were constructed at Cowbridge, Caerphilly and Neath, and possibly also at Cardiff, Kenfig, Caerleon, and Usk.[118] At Cowbridge and Caerphilly they were probably constructed as part of

the basic foundation of the towns, but in the other boroughs they seem to have been added to meet the growing demand of the expanding populations.[119] Here, as elsewhere, the mills were built by the seigneur in the anticipation of long term profit.[120] Although they represented a significant investment, it was felt that a mill would return sufficient profit in the long term for even though burgesses were usually not obliged to use them, not all had the facilities to grind their own corn.[121] That they were the work of the Clare earls of Gloucester is reflected in the fact that they are listed in the surviving I.P.M. s.[122] The purpose of these inquisitions, after all, was to list the possessions of a deceased earl. The listing of the mills therein indicates that they were owned and maintained by the earl of Gloucester.

A similar situation existed with a number of other constructions in the Clares' Welsh towns. Such items as prisons, toll houses, bakehouses, and public weighing beams were other long term contributions which a seigneur might install in a borough in the expectation of further long term profit.[123] Unfortunately, very little reference to these features in the Clares' Welsh towns has survived, although 'ovens' are mentioned at Usk in 1262-63 and a bakehouse is referred to at Trelech in 1314.[124] The bakehouse was a fairly common feature, however, and simply because it is not explicitly mentioned in the other towns does not mean that they did not exist. Similarly, a number of the Clares' boroughs may have possessed any number of those features suggested above, but they either went unnoticed or unrecorded by the officials compiling the Inquisitions. As with the mills, however, it is fairly safe to assume that bakehouses and other constructions were the property of the lord, and that repair and upkeep was his responsibility. This much is reinforced by the fact that the 'Bothall', or booth hall, at Neath apparently belonged to the seigneur. It is listed amongst the 'Produce of the Borough' in an account of 1311-12, where it returned 5s. to Earl Gilbert for being hired, presumably by the burgesses.[125] Not all constructions in the towns were the work of the seigneur, however. In chapter three it was noted that the burgesses of Cardiff founded and funded a leper hospital at Crokerton in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. On the strength of the evidence for all ten towns, though, this would seem to be an exception rather than the rule, a testimony to burgher wealth at Cardiff rather than a barometer of the wider situation.

The picture regarding seigneurial/burgess responsibility for a multitude of other important features is, unfortunately, rather less straightforward. One such feature was bridges. It was recognised earlier that bridges were a central feature in many towns, with Cowbridge, Cardiff, Newport, Neath, Usk, and Caerleon all possessing such a structure which was fundamental to their long term success as urban ventures.[126] Those at Cowbridge and Neath seem to have been built, or in Cowbridge's case reconstructed, during the Clare period.[127] At Newport, meanwhile, there is good reason to suppose that the bridge was rebuilt or repaired following de Montfort's attack in 1265, while some work may have been carried out on the bridges at Cardiff.[128] A bridge also existed at Caerleon, and possibly also at Usk, but no evidence has survived detailing any repair work during the Clare period.[129]

That these bridges were of great importance is not in any doubt. What must be questioned, though, is whose responsibility these structures were. Once again, the lack of contemporary documentary evidence represents a severe hindrance, not least because no mention is made of repairing

the bridges in the extant sources. If walls and other topographical features such as mills and bakehouses were seigneurial responsibilities, though, it would be logical to assume that bridges would also have been the lord's consideration. Indeed, from the Clare period there is no evidence to challenge such an assumption. However, a reference dating from the late fourteenth century raises one or two questions. In 1383 a Nigel Chepstow, burgess of Bristol, bequeathed money for the repair of the bridges at Usk and Caerleon in his will.[130] While, quite obviously, this occurred some time after the Clare period, it nevertheless raises the possibility that such grants were made between 1217 and 1314. Whether such grants would have been sufficient in themselves to maintain the bridges is debatable, but it may have been the case that these important features were repaired by a combination of seigneurial responsibility and burgess contributions. The actual construction, as opposed to repair, of bridges may have been financed in the same way, but it is more likely that they were largely the work of the seigneur. At Cowbridge, the bridge was almost certainly rebuilt no later than the foundation of the borough in 1245, and this clearly rules out any burgess involvement.[131] The only other bridge which we can confidently ascribe to the Clare period, that at Neath, is also likely to have been seigneurial in origin. The small size of the town and its relatively underdeveloped economy surely raises doubts as to the ability of the burgesses to undertake such an expensive project.[132] More likely, it was built by the lord, probably Gilbert fitz Gilbert, in the early fourteenth century to benefit the town and also improve the communications from Neath castle to the western reaches of his lordship of Glamorgan. It is possible, however, that the townspeople made some form of financial contribution.

Closely linked to the question of responsibility for the bridges is the maintenance of the quays in those towns which supported maritime trade. Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath and Caerleon all possessed quays during the Clare period, while Usk may well have had facilities to accommodate small river going vessels.[133] In each case these appear to have pre-dated the Clare period of lordship, and given the dual commercial and military role they played in the early development of the towns, it is probably fair to view them as being seigneurial in origin.[134] The problem which emerges once again, however, is determining who was responsible for their upkeep. No evidence survives from Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Kenfig, or Neath to resolve this problem, but a reference in an early fourteenth century account for Cardiff may provide an important clue. In the Ministers Account compiled by Wenthilian de Turberville in 1316, reference is made in the entry headed 'farms' to 7s. 2d. for the farm of "the tolls of the sea landing place".[135] This is presumably a reference to 'Quayage', the toll levied against goods and produce being brought into the town for sale for use in maintaining the quays. Clearly, from the wording of the account this was usually paid to the earl, but on this occasion it was farmed to the burgesses. Farms will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, but essentially what was meant was that the burgesses would pay the seigneur an agreed amount for the right to collect the revenues from a particular source, or sources, of income. On this occasion, they paid 7s. 2d., but whether the actual tolls of quayage amounted to more or less than this amount is not recorded.[136] Consequently, in the case of Cardiff at least, it would appear that the responsibility for maintaining the quays lay with the seigneur who attempted to recover the expense through quayage. Whether this also applied to the other towns is unclear, but it is possible that the situation would have been much the same.

From the little evidence which has survived, it would appear that the Clares' Welsh towns followed a pattern in which the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of the infrastructure was largely seigneurial. Indeed, only on the very odd occasion do we witness even the possibility that the burgesses may have taken responsibility themselves. Of course, the shortage of documentary evidence demands caution as it is possible that the burgesses of the various towns actually took a much more active role in the maintenance of the fabric of the boroughs, but that this involvement went unrecorded in the extant sources. Nevertheless, on the strength of the evidence which is available, it can only be assumed that the seigneur was the dominant influence.

THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCES OF THE SEIGNEUR AND THE BURGESSES

The farming of the profits derived from quayage to the burgesses of Cardiff in 1316 brings the discussion to a particularly important aspect of the relationship between lord and burgess. Towns were of economic benefit to both the lord, in terms of profits from rents, tolls, farms, and court profits, and also to the burgess in providing a conducive environment to make a living. Both, therefore, had a vested interest in the economic expansion which has been witnessed in all of the ten towns considered here. In the traditional model of the medieval plantation, the pattern of economic life in terms of the trades, crafts, and occupations practised was generally shaped by the burgesses as individual townsfolk. The privileges granted by the seigneur initially attracted settlers to the town, but once there as 'free men' absolved from many of the restrictions of the manor, the burgesses were able to pursue the occupation of choice which offered the best prospect in terms of monetary reward.[137] The range of occupations which were open to the townsmen were numerous, particularly once the borough achieved a certain level of development; a fact borne out in the earlier discussion of economic evolution.[138] Indeed, from these investigations into the economies of the towns in question it would appear that those boroughs inherited by the family during the thirteenth century largely followed this typical model.[139] At Cardiff, Newport, Neath, Kenfig, Caerleon, and Usk, the burgesses were apparently engaged in many of the trades and crafts associated with a medieval town with very little evidence of influence or interference on the part of the seigneur.[140] This is not surprising, however, as each town was well established by the time it entered Clare hands and thus largely continued to follow the existing economic patterns. Each was possessed of a multifarious nature without fulfilling any one dominant role beyond that shared by all medieval towns, as lubricators of trade and cash in every direction.[141] The major influence upon their economic welfare was the general economic state of the surrounding area rather than any direct seigneurial interference.

Nowhere is this multiplicity of roles and burgess independence more clearly exhibited than in the existence of a Guild Merchant at Cardiff towards the end of the Clare period. The basic structure of this institution has been discussed briefly but it would be worthwhile to spend some time here to consider its role in more detail.[142] The establishment of guilds in medieval towns was a direct consequence of the increasingly restrictive outlook adopted by urban centres in the late thirteenth century. Towns multiplied in number, rural markets and fairs became more common, and the earlier increase in population and production in rural areas began to tail off.[143] Those who had power in a town were, in such a situation, obviously unwilling to share it with newcomers and to achieve a

measure of self protection they organised themselves into a guild.[144] The guild allowed the free burgesses of Cardiff to band together for collective action, to speak for the town, negotiate the fee farm, bargain with other towns and foreigners, and supervise the internal economy of the town.[145] As with other contemporary towns, at the time of its creation the role of the guild merchant at Cardiff was probably more supervisory than regulatory, but no evidence survives to allow us to gain an insight into its precise functions. A number of guilds are mentioned in the charters of twelve other towns during the thirteenth century, however, and it is likely that Cardiff's guild bore some similarity to these.[146] One example is the charter granted to New Montgomery in 1226 which states:

> "the town shall be a free borough .... and may have a merchant guild with a hanse and all customs pertaining to that guild, and none who are not of that guild shall practice the trade of merchant in the borough except by consent of the burgesses."[147]

The powers enjoyed at Cardiff are likely to have followed similar lines. However, if as was suggested earlier, this general guild developed into individual craft guilds by the end of the Clare period, they would also have exercised control over entry into specified crafts.[148]

In addition to Cardiff, the possibility was raised earlier that some form of guilds may also have developed at Neath and Kenfig, both of which are known to have possessed this important institution in the period following Clare lordship.[149] There is no evidence to date the origins of these guilds to the Clare period, however, and the most likely explanation is that they were not officially organised until the subsequent period of Despenser lordship.[150] The possibility that the origins of burgess self protection were already being formed during the later Clare period cannot, however, be ruled out completely. Consequently it is possible that the burgesses exercised similar supervisory influence to that of their contemporaries at Cardiff.

Whether the towns held by the Clares officially possessed guilds merchant, individual craft guilds, or neither, the surviving evidence appears to suggest that a number of the inherited towns were taking responsibility for their economic development and organisation. The clearest sign of this collective action by the burgesses of a town was to obtain the privilege of managing the internal affairs of the borough themselves. By making a payment as a body to the lord of a fixed sum, or farm, per annum, they themselves collected the fluctuating amounts accrued from the various sources of seigneurial income in the borough.[151] In some cases only specific items of revenue were farmed, but on other occasions a single figure might be paid for the farm of the entire borough. This second option allowed the burgesses themselves to farm to the highest bidder amongst their number specific items of the revenue. For example, brewing tolls (prise of ale) might be farmed to a collector who risked any possible fluctuations in returns in the hope of benefiting over and above the agreed farm.[152]

The burgesses of Cardiff had secured this privilege for themselves well before the advent of Clare lordship, as in 1184 they paid a farm fee of £24 for half a year for the entire borough.[153] It is important to note, however, that this farm was agreed with the crown, which held wardship, and not the recently deceased earl of Gloucester. Indeed, the next recorded example of the borough being farmed to the burgesses took place in similar circumstances when £66 13s. 4d. was paid for the year in 1262 following the death of Richard de Clare.[154] When one considers that the town was valued at £96 1s.

3d. that same year, it is clear that the burgesses made a handsome profit.[155] This pattern of farming out the borough is repeated following the death of Gilbert fitz Gilbert in 1314. Rather than the borough as a whole, though, only specific items of income were farmed. In 1314 the mills, fisheries, and weir were farmed for £13 19s. 1d., while the following year tolls of timber sold, tolls of the market and fair, and prise of ale were added to the existing farm.[156] During 1315-16, in the account of Wenthilian de Turberville, the tolls of the "sea landing place" joined the list.[157]

This apparent tendency of farming borough profits during royal wardship went much further than Cardiff alone, however. At Neath, the mills, fisheries, weirs, and 'creeks' were all farmed to the burgesses in the period after 1314, reaching a peak farm fee of £7 0s. 0d. in 1314-15.[158] The burgesses of Usk, meanwhile, paid £9 4s. 4d. for the farm of all the issues of the borough for fourteen weeks in 1314.[159] Of the remaining inherited towns, no farms are listed at Newport during the periods of royal wardship while at Caerleon they are simply listed as part of the issues of the borough without being identified.[160] At Kenfig, meanwhile, the farm of the town mills together with the grange of 'Pennchmoil and Portreveshanok' amounted to £9 6s. 8d. in 1316, although the latter was farmed to Margam.[161]

Despite the fact that towns, or specific items of income from towns, were farmed to the burgesses during periods of royal wardship, it did not automatically follow that the same arrangement would have continued under the direct control of the Clares themselves. The farming out of a borough's sources of income was, after all, a short term arrangement which was usually negotiated yearly and was as much in the interest of the lord as the burgesses.[162] If conditions in the lordships were stable and times economically prosperous, it would have made little sense for the lord to farm out the sources of income from his towns for fear of undervaluing them. Farming thus tended to be more common in times of unrest and economic uncertainty when the lord could at least receive a fixed amount safe from the vagaries of the situation.[163]

The Clares seem to have followed this pattern with regards to their inherited towns, as very few incidences of fee farming are evidenced during periods of direct lordship. Of course, as with so many aspects of this research, the relative lack of evidence may have a direct bearing upon this question. If we possessed consistent runs of Ministers' Accounts for all the towns in question it might be possible to identify more instances of boroughs being farmed to their inhabitants. As the evidence stands, however, the picture is somewhat mixed. At Cardiff the evidence is limited to a reference in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Countess Joan which suggests that prior to entering royal wardship "judiciary grinding" was farmed for 30s. per annum.[164] This would not appear unusual, however, as there are no explicit references to farms in any of the extant accounts for Newport, Neath, or Kenfig.[165]

Of the inherited towns, there is rather more evidence available for Caerleon and Usk. At Usk we have two accounts for the town from the later Clare period, dated 1296-97 and 1308-09, but once again there is no mention in either of any farms whatsoever.[166] The contemporary situation at Caerleon was, however, quite different. A number of accounts have survived covering the periods 1303-06 and 1309-10, and these apparently indicate a willingness to farm out a sizeable amount of the income from the town.[167] Between 1303 and 1306 (and possibly some time before) the town mills

were farmed for £6 1s. 8d. per annum, while in 1309-10 court profits were added bringing the total fee to £11 per annum.[168]

What does this discussion of farms, or rather the lack of them, tell us regarding the relationship between the Clares and the burgesses? The most obvious point to be drawn from the surviving evidence is that farming of the sources of income in the boroughs was apparently rare during the periods when the lordships were directly held by the family, with the exception of Caerleon. When the lordships entered royal hands, however, farms were much more commonplace. This would seem to suggest that the Clares tended to exert direct control over the income from their towns whenever possible. The reason for the rather more indirect approach at Caerleon is unclear, but in each of the other five inherited towns the Clares were apparently not willing to allow the burgesses the privilege of managing some, or all, of the internal affairs of the boroughs themselves. The most logical explanation for this would seem to be that while the burgesses were free to follow the individual economic path that best suited them, the Clare earls saw their towns as important sources of income and thus were keen to exploit them for as much personal profit as possible.

The entire question of the economic influences of the seigneur and the burgesses is rather different in the four towns implanted during the thirteenth century. Unlike the inherited towns, which appear to have been somewhat multifarious in nature, the new plantations can be seen to have each possessed a singularity of purpose. This difference was alluded to in the previous chapter and as an extremely important point is worthy of extended consideration here.[169] What must be recognised, however, is that this apparent singularity of purpose did not mean that the new implantations were bereft of the variety of trades and crafts practised by the burgesses of the inherited towns; to claim as much would be patently untrue. As in the inherited boroughs, the burgesses of the new towns were 'free' men who could practice any of the trades and occupations found in the typical medieval town. Consequently, each new implantation probably counted traders, butchers, bakers, brewers, tapsters, tavern keepers, smiths, carpenters, and mercers, amongst others, in their populations.[170] Trades practised in a town did not exist in a vacuum, but rather were a response to the requirements of the town itself and, more importantly, the surrounding area. From this apparent similarity there emerges a crucial difference, however; at least during the period in question. The existing towns had developed hand in hand with their agricultural hinterlands, providing services as they were required and fulfilling new roles as they became apparent. In contrast, the new implantations were specifically created by the Clares as a reaction to the contemporary situation which faced the earls.[171] Essentially, the inherited towns had slowly evolved over an extended period while the new implantations appear to have been much more "revolutionary", a consequence of the Clares' short term goals.[172] In the long term, of course, this distinction would have faded as short term intentions gave way to long term imperatives, although in the case of Trelech and Caerphilly the basis for implantation remained a damaging legacy.[173] Yet how did this apparent difference manifest itself in the respective roles of seigneur and burgess in the economic development of the towns?

The most obvious example of a town developed to perform a specific economic role is Trelech. If the archaeological evidence from the town is correct, as would appear increasingly likely, the growth

of Trelech in the later thirteenth century can be linked to the wider activities of its seigneurs. While a proportion of its inhabitants were undoubtedly involved in those general occupations found in the medieval town, the available evidence increasingly suggests that the economic life of the settlement was dominated by ironworking.[174] To have established the town in this role would have required active involvement on the part of the seigneur. Iron smelting was a skilled occupation, and the scale of the operation at Trelech suggests that insufficient numbers could have been drawn from the surrounding area alone. Rather, in order to attract enough ironworkers to the town, the Clares would have had to induce skilled workers to settle at Trelech from other ironworking centres such as the Forest of Dean.[175]

The relationship between these ironworkers and the Clare earls is extremely important in the context of this discussion, but unfortunately the meagre surviving evidence offers us very little clue as to its precise nature. As inhabitants of the clearly defined town of Trelech, the townsfolk were as elsewhere permitted a degree of freedom which they would not have enjoyed on a manor.[176] Indeed, this was likely to have been particularly true of Trelech, as the ironworkers attracted to the town would have required sufficient freedoms to persuade them that it was a suitable place to settle. Their skills made them more attractive to the seigneur, and as they were probably in part recruited from other towns they are likely to have enjoyed fairly wide ranging liberties as an enticement.[177]

In terms of the economic life of the borough, it is likely that the burgesses of Trelech were generally independent of the seigneur in their day to day activities. However, some evidence has survived to suggest that the ironworkers, at least, were subject to more seigneurial control than contemporary burgesses in the Clares' other urban centres. In a Minister's Account for the town dated 1316, it is stated that 'smiths' (probably meaning ironworkers) made small weekly payments for licence to work.[178] That year four were at work for half the year, five during the Spring, and six in the Summer.[179] Clearly, this account dates from the period of royal control when iron production was apparently already in serious decline, but did a similar licence system exist earlier when ironworking was at its peak? Unfortunately no mention is made of licences in any of the earlier accounts which have survived. This could tell us one of two things. The first is that licences were not in use during the Clare period and were, in fact, introduced by the royal administration. Alternatively, however, licences may have been in place during Clare lordship but the proceeds from them were not explicitly mentioned in the accounts. Given the often somewhat crude nature of Ministers' Accounts from this period, this is not as unlikely as it may first appear. Indeed, they may have been included as part of another source of income and thus not mentioned seperately.[180] If licences were issued by the Clare earls they would have provided welcome extra income, and also would have allowed the seigneur a measure of control over who was smelting iron in the town.

There is no indication, though, that the Clares exerted any further control than this upon the townspeople of Trelech, and certainly no suggestion that the ironworkers were tenants of the earl, smelting exclusively for him. The most likely hypothesis is that the situation at Trelech during the Clare period was one where the ironworkers, as individual burgesses, were simply independent craftsmen exploiting an extremely buoyant market for iron. They would have produced iron for sale

which was then purchased by the earl for use across his Welsh lands and possibly further afield in England and Ireland. In all likelihood, though, the seigneur would not have been the sole customer. Iron was probably also sold in smaller quantities to other individuals such as smiths working in the other towns in the Clares' Welsh lordships. Indeed, through the market at Trelech iron may even have been purchased by burgesses from towns in other neighbouring lordships.[181] Above all, however, the ironworkers must have been predominantly reliant upon the consumption of iron in the earl's demesne and in his military and political manoeuvrings. This much would seem to be supported by the archaeological evidence for, as we have seen, smelting appears to have declined quite considerably from the lordship of Gilbert fitz Gilbert onwards when seigneurial demand lessened.[182]

For these reasons the Clare earls of Gloucester can be said to have exerted a degree of control over the economic life of Trelech which exceeded that seen in the inherited towns. This was not a direct implementation of seigneurial authority, unless the existence of licences can be proved beyond doubt, but rather represented indirect influence by means of wider seigneurial policy. Of course, the economies of all medieval towns were reliant upon the actions of their seigneur to a certain extent; wars, for example, could devastate a town and its hinterlands. Also, all towns were at risk from general fluctuations and vagaries in the economic situation. What made Trelech different was that it was developed around a single dominant function. As Courtney has correctly identified, it was the only town in the southern March to have existed above all as a specialised economic base.[183] When this role was removed, the town suffered dramatically.[184] There was an apparent attempt to re-establish Trelech as an agricultural and marketing centre, but this was ultimately to prove a failure as the town entered a long and steady decline.[185]

The contemporary situation at Cowbridge bore a number of similarities to Trelech, albeit rather less pronounced. Rather than gradually developing to carve out a role for itself, Cowbridge expanded rapidly as it exploited the marketing opportunity afforded it in the agriculturally rich Vale of Glamorgan.[186] Cowbridge was no speculative venture of dubious commercial potential, but a town with a clear pre-defined role. Once again, this meant that the earl had effectively provided the framework for the town's economic existence, and in so doing broadly defined the roles of its prospective inhabitants. Unlike Trelech, however, the burgesses of Cowbridge were not so dependent upon the earls of Gloucester once the town had become established. The marketing nature of the borough gave it a broader economic base and this meant that it was less tied to the wider political and military manoeuvrings of the earls. Its role was to act as the centre of trade and commerce for its hinterland, above all else, and thus its economic welfare was tied to the wider trends of the rural economy of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[187] In fact, this meant that Cowbridge quickly bore more similarity to Cardiff or Usk than Trelech, and that its inhabitants possessed a wider range of options and a greater freedom from seigneurial influence. Nevertheless, the fact that Cowbridge was apparently founded to fulfil a specific role means that it is fair to regard its internal economy as being more influenced by the seigneur than more longstanding neighbours such as Cardiff.[188]

Much the same can be said regarding the smaller implantations of Llantrisant and Caerphilly. Both were founded to perform a specific role, but unlike Cowbridge and Trelech they were not

motivated by economic factors. As we have seen, initially at least, Llantrisant and Caerphilly were dominated by their strategic, military, and administrative role and the main demand of the townspeople was to supply and support the castles in what remained a turbulent 'frontier land'.[189] This gave both towns a largely rural nature, with production of foodstuffs a prime concern. The apparent development of a marketing role by the close of the Clare period meant that seigneurial influence gradually lessened. The townspeople were not tied to food production but were free to enter into the variety of occupations seen elsewhere, albeit on a limited scale. The economic performance, therefore, became more reliant upon the industry of the burgesses and the vagaries of the wider economy. The initial role of the seigneur was a legacy which remained with both towns, and at Caerphilly in particular; as at Trelech their initial purpose became a long-term hindrance to their subsequent development.

The apparently stronger influence which the Clares held in the economic life of their new implantations is supported by a lack of independence on the part of the burgesses in the supervision of the internal economies of the four towns. None of the towns appear to have developed sufficient burgess unity and collective action to have formed a guild, while little evidence survives for burgesses farming sources of income in their towns. On both counts, however, this made them little different from the six inherited towns. Only Cardiff can be said to have possessed a guild with any certainty, while farms have been seen to have been rare.

From the surviving accounts and inquisitions available to us, there is no indication whatsoever that Cowbridge, Llantrisant, or Caerphilly were ever farmed in part or whole to the burgesses during the Clare tenure.[190] Indeed, unlike the inherited boroughs this tendency against farming remained equally true during periods of royal wardship. In the case of Cowbridge, with its potential to provide fairly large amounts of income from rents, tolls, prise of ale, and court profits, this is understandable, as both the seigneur and royal officials would have been keen to maximise revenue.[191] It is however, rather more surprising with regard to Llantrisant and, particularly, Caerphilly as both towns were of limited economic value. The grant of freedom from toll of the market awarded by Earl Gilbert in 1312 would seem to testify to this.[192] It might be imagined that it would have made sense to farm the towns to the burgesses for a reasonable sum, particularly given the continued military threat to both during this period.[193] Apparently this was not the case, however.

Of the four new plantations, only Trelech provides any evidence of sources of income being farmed to the burgesses. In common with Caerleon, rather more accounts have survived for Trelech than the towns of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg.[194] With accounts surviving from 1288, 1302-03, 1309-10, 1314-15, and 1315-16, it is possible to put forward a fairly comprehensive analysis.[195] Evidence for farms is limited in the two earliest accounts to a single entry for 42s. for unspecified farms in 1288.[196] During the lordship of Gilbert fitz Gilbert, 1307-1314, this picture changes significantly. The account for 1309-10 explicitly records that the 'issues of the borough', that is the market and fair tolls, prise of ale, profits from the fishponds etc., were farmed for the year for £8 11s. 1d. This represented a considerable increase over the £3 3s. 4d. returned by these sources of income in 1302-03, presumably reflecting Trelech's growth as a marketing centre in proportion to its decline as an industrial focus.[197] This apparent tendency of Earl Gilbert to farm the issues of the borough continued when Trelech

entered royal control after his death. In 1314-15 the farm fee was set at £5 13s. 7d. for the issues of the borough, while the account for the following year records a figure of £7 3s. 6d.[198] This notable rise in the assessed value of the issues would seem to suggest further that the town was continuing to grow as a centre of trade and agriculture.

The reasons why the issues of the borough were farmed at Trelech by Earl Gilbert fitz Gilbert are rather more obvious, therefore, than for the contemporary situation at Caerleon. From the earlier discussion of the town it will be recalled that by the time Gilbert inherited his estates, iron production in Trelech was in decline and the burgesses were turning their attention to an existence based more upon agriculture and marketing.[199] This, of course, was not the primary reason why the town had been implanted; its location away from the main communications links making it unsuited to the role of marketing centre.[200] With little prospect of making extremely large profits from the issues of the borough, it would have made eminent sense to farm this potentially highly variable source of income to the burgesses and retain the more stable rents and court profits for themselves. In doing so, the earl gave the burgesses the privilege of managing a fair proportion of the internal economy themselves.

The relationship between the Clares and their burgesses regarding the internal economic control and regulation of the towns represents, therefore, something of a mixed pattern. The towns inherited by the family appear to have continued their existing economic roles fairly independently of seigneurial influence. The new plantations, particularly Trelech, however, saw their economic situation dictated to a far greater extent by the contemporary actions and needs of the seigneur. Despite these apparent variations in seigneurial influence over the basic economic roles of the towns, the attitude taken towards their exploitation would appear to have been fairly consistent. Across the Clares' Welsh lands, the internal regulation of the borough economies would generally appear to have been directly controlled by the earls through the borough officials. With the exception of the farming of borough issues at Caerleon and Trelech at the very end of the period, and the assumed supervisory role of the Guild Merchant at Cardiff, the Clare earls of Gloucester would appear to have preferred to exploit their towns directly in the expectation of achieving maximum profit. Only when it became patently unprudent to do so did they seem willing to risk losing some of the potential income by farming the issues or other items to the burgesses. In doing so they restricted the burgesses' role in the management of the internal economics of the towns. Whether this was intentional, however, or merely an unforeseen consequence is impossible to tell from the limited surviving evidence.

Indeed, this apparent desire of the earls to maximise the revenue from their towns by direct exploitation is indicative of their wider attitudes to their urban centres. A flourishing town, if it was to be of benefit to lord and burgess alike, could only be achieved through the co-operation and concerted action of both parties.[201] However, in the case of the Clares' Welsh towns, it was by no means an equal partnership. The Clares, along with the other Marcher lords, were probably aware of the fact that over-regulation and too much restriction by the seigneur risked stifling the burgesses in their economic role, which was clearly of no benefit to either party. Certainly, if such an attitude was taken by the seigneur the burgesses as 'free' men could have voted with their feet and left to settle in another town where they would face less restrictions.[202] That they did not, and the ten towns each experienced

notable growth during the period, would suggest that the attitude taken by the Clares to their towns was not over restrictive by contemporary standards. At the same time, however, the Clare earls of Gloucester cannot be said to have operated a relaxed, indirect control over their Welsh towns. Throughout this discussion of seigneurial control and burgess vitality, it is the former element which has consistently emerged as being dominant. The apparent reluctance to grant charters of incorporation, the relatively few charters granting limited freedoms, the basic structures of internal government, the discernible seigneurial responsibility for the infrastructure, and the direct exploitation of the economies all seem to support this view. Admittedly, in much of this the Clares were simply reflecting wider seigneurial attitudes in other lordships. As a whole, however, they seemingly wished to exert as much direct control over the lives and development of their urban centres as they possibly could. The burgesses were allowed to play a certain role and wield a limited amount of influence, but it was apparently never more than the bare minimum expected by the typical medieval burgess. Perhaps we should not be surprised by this, however, when we recall the administrative reorganisation which took place in the lordships as a whole during this period.[203] Between 1217 and 1314 the Clares reorganised their lands from a loose federation of demesne lands, subinfeudated fiefs, and virtually independent native commotes into a strong, centralised bloc of lordships.[204] In such a climate, which saw the earls come to recognise their Marcher lordships as the most important of all their estates, it is unsurprising that the boroughs should have also been subjected to this strong, direct form of lordship.[205]

Notes

1. See above, chapters four and five, passim.
2. Postan, M. (1975), The Medieval Economy and Society, p. 239.
3. Beresford, M. (1967), New Towns of the Middle Ages, p. 202 ; Ballard, A. and Tait, J. (1923), British Borough Charters, 1216-1307, passim.
4. Reeves, A.C. (1979), Newport Lordship, 1317-1536, p. 112.
5. See above, chapter one, passim.
6. Clark, G.T. (ed.) (1910), Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent, Vol. I, no. 113, p. 93 ; Patterson, R.B. (ed.) (1973) Earldom of Gloucester Charters, no. 46, p. 60 ; Matthews, J.H. (ed.) (1898), Cardiff Records, Vol. I, pp. 10-13. As was mentioned earlier, the fact that Earl Robert's charter has not survived in its original form makes it impossible to say if it was a true charter of incorporation.
7. Ibid ; Clark, Cartae, IV, no. 1075, p. 1418 ; Patterson (1973), no. 159, p. 148, (Neath) ; Griffiths, R.A. 'The Medieval Boroughs of Glamorgan and Medieval Swansea' Glamorgan County History, Vol. III, (1971), p. 338.
8. Reeves, A.C. 'Newport' in Griffiths, R.A. (ed.) (1978), Boroughs of Medieval Wales, p. 208. Examples of such references are contained in Patterson (1973), pp. 46, 89, 90, 91, p. 150, and p. 176.
9. Beresford (1967), pp. 201-02.
10. See above, chapter one, pp. 19-26.
11. British Museum, Additional Charters 5342 ; catalogued in Owen, E. (1900), A Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum, part 3, p. 660.
12. Beresford (1967), p. 198.
13. See above, chapter three, passim.
14. Ibid, chapter four, passim.
15. Cardiff, Neath and Kenfig all received new charters during the subsequent period of Despenser lordship. Matthews (1898) Cardiff Records, I, pp. 28-30 ; Clark, Cartae, Vol. IV, no. 1075, pp. 1419-22 (Neath) ; Gray, T. (1909), The Buried City of Kenfig, pp. 99-106.
16. See above, chapter five, pp. 131-2.
17. Ibid, pp. 134-5 ; Llantrisant was granted the freedoms and liberties of Cardiff by Hugh le Despenser in 1346, and although the original charter has not survived, it is mentioned and confirmed in the 1424 charter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick ; Clark, G.T. 'Llantrisant Charter' Archaeological Journal, XXIX (1872). pp. 351-9 ; Morgan, T. (1898) History of Llantrisant, pp. 40-44.
18. Beresford (1967), pp. 192-206.
19. Ibid.
20. Ralph A. Griffiths, pers. comm.
21. Ibid.
22. Griffiths, Ralph A. (1994), Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales, pp. 341-42.
23. Beresford (1967), p. 191.
24. Ibid, p. 192.
25. See above, chapter five, pp. 134-5.

26. For a full discussion of iron working in the southern March at this time see Rees, W. (1968) Industry before the Industrial Revolution, pp. 36-44.

27. See above, pp. 178-9.

28. Reeves, A.C. (1979), p. 112.

29. See above, chapters four and five, passim.

30. Clark, Cartae, Vol. IV, no. 1075, p. 1419.

31. In addition to the tolls of the fair, the earl would also collect the fines paid to the special court set up to deal with transgressions by visitors, the 'Piepowder Court' whose name derives from the French pied poudres or 'dusty feet'. Rees, W. (1969), Cardiff, p. 52.

32. See above, chapter four, table 2.

33. Ibid, chapter five, pp. 154-64.

34. Ibid, chapter four, p. 108.

35. Ibid, chapter five, p. 155.

36. Ibid, p. 161. As was pointed out earlier, the original charter has not survived but it is known from a reference in a Ministers Account compiled by Bartholomew de Badelesmere in 1315. PRO., Ministers Accounts, SC6/1202/7.

37. Of course, neither Caerphilly or Llantrisant had a charter of incorporation at this time, but as has been discussed townspeople in unincorporated towns would have assumed certain rights and privileges. One of the most basic was freedom from toll in the market.

38. Griffiths, Ralph A. (1971), p. 339.

39. See above, chapter five, pp. 161-2.

40. Matthews, Cardiff Records, I, p. 13.

41. Ibid, p. 14.

42. Ibid ; Johnson, R. (1882) Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford, p. 24.

43. Matthews, Cardiff Receords, loc. cit.

44. Ibid.

45. The liberties of Tewkesbury were drawn from those of Hereford which, in turn, were drawn from those of Breteuil in Normandy.

46. See above, chapter three, passim. Of course, there was a separate receivership at Usk and Trelech, but as was mentioned these were largely subservient to Cardiff.

47. Rees, W. (1922), South Wales and the March, 1284 – 1415, p. 92.

48. Ibid ; Walker, D.G. 'Cardiff' in Griffiths, R.A. (1978), The Boroughs of Medieval Wales, pp. 124-25.

49. Rees (1969), p. 55.

50. Ibid, p. 55.

51. Walker (1978), p. 124.

52. Matthews, Cardiff Records, Vol. V, p. 534.

53. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 12.

54. Beresford (1967), p. 218. Cardiff did not reach this level of development until the lordship of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, who granted the burgesses the right to elect 12 aldermen from amongst their number to assist the two town reeves in the conduct of borough affairs. Matthews, Cardiff Records, Vol. I, pp. 23-7 ; the grant was dated 1421.

55. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 23-27 ; Rees (1969), p. 55.

56. Ibid.

57. See above, chapter four, passim ; see above, pp. 180-1.

58. PRO., SC6/1202/1 ; printed and translated in Hopkins, A. (1988), Medieval Neath : Ministers Accounts, 1262 – 1316, p. 28 ; Griffiths, R.A. (1971), pp. 351-54.

59. Reeves (1979), pp. 119-20.

60. PRO., SC6/920/15 ; SC6/920/17 ; SC6/920/21 ; SC6/927/3 ; SC6/927/11 ; SC6/927/14 ; SC6/927/16 ; Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-92, p. 351.

61. James, B. and Francis, D. (1979) Cowbridge and Llanblethian : Past and Present, pp. 37-8.

62. Ibid.

63. Davies, J. Barry (1989) The Freemen and the Ancient Borough of Llantrisant, pp. 29-31 ; Rees, W. (1974) Caerphilly Castle and its place in the Annals of Glamorgan, p. 31.

64. The Reeves compiled the borough accounts and thus are named in PRO., SC6/925/23 ; PRO., SC6/925/24 ; PRO., SC6/925/28 ; PRO., SC6/925/30 ; PRO., SC6/1247/21. The Bailiff is mentioned in the Patent Roll for 1290, Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-92, p. 351.

65. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1232-47, p. 468.

66. See above, chapter five, p. 138.

67. Beresford (1967), pp. 198-225.

68. See above, p. 181.

69. Beresford (1967), p. 214.

70. Matthews, Cardiff Records, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

71. Beresford (1967), loc. cit.

72. Rees (1969), p. 55.

73. Reeves (1979), pp. 120-21.

74. Ibid.

75. Rees (1969), loc. cit.

76. Matthews, Cardiff Records, loc. cit.

77. See above, pp. 176-7.

78. Ibid.

79. Davies, J. Barry (1989), p. 29.

80. Beresford (1967), p. 207.

81. Ibid.

82. See below, p. 192 ; Beresford (1967), pp. 217-18.

83. Beresford (1967), pp. 198-225.

84. Matthews, Cardiff Records, I, pp. 33-7 ; Walker (1978), p. 125.

85. See above, chapters four and five, passim.

86. Ibid.

87. At Newport these tolls were entered generally in the accounts as the 'Pyx Toll', see Reeves (1979), p. 130.

88. Spurgeon, J. Glamorgan : Later Castles and Fortifications : Town Defences, forthcoming. See above, chapter four, p. 83.

89. PRO., SC6/1202/8, printed in Hopkins (1988), p. 9. This account also mentions repairs to 'the wall', but this is probably the castle walls. The repairs to the gate cost 3d.

90. Soulsby, I. (1983) The Towns of Medieval Wales, p. 38.

91. See above, chapter five, pp. 136-7.

92. Reeves (1979), p. 130.

93. See above, chapter four, pp. 80-1.

94. Walker (1978), p. 108.

95. PRO., SC6/1202/6.

96. See above, chapter four, p. 84.

97. See above, chapter five, pp. 138-9.

98. Ibid, pp. 132-3.

99. Ibid, chapters four and five, passim.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid, chapter four, pp. 95-107.

102. Ibid, chapter four and five, passim.

103. Beresford (1967), pp. 147-56.

104. See above, chapter four, table one.

105. Ibid, pp. 95-103.

106. Courtney, P. (1994) Report on the Excavations at Usk 1965-1976 : Medieval and Later Usk, p. 123.

107. Beresford (1967), p. 146.

108. See above, chapter five, pp. 145-7.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid, chapter four, pp. 97-9.

111. Ibid, chapter five, pp. 145-7.

112. Beresford (1967), p. 553.

113. Courtney (1994), p. 106.

114. See above, chapter for, pp. 95-107, and chapter five, p. 148.

115. Ibid, chapter four, p. 99.

116. As was seen in the previous chapter, Cowbridge fitted closely to the boundaries set aside for its development. See above, chapter five, pp. 146-7 ; Robinson (1980) p. 41.

117. Beresford (1967), pp. 144-45. Some royal accounts have survived from towns in England which list payments to officials engaged in defining the lines of streets, staking out the bounds of each plot, and measuring dimensions. Unfortunately, no such documentation has survived for the Clares' Welsh towns.

118. See above, chapter four, pp. 89-95 ; chapter five, pp.136-46.

119. Ibid.

120. Beresford (1967), p. 177.

121. Ibid, p. 178. In Earl William's charter to Cardiff it is stated that "a burgess owing no suit, except at will, to the mill..." ; Matthews, Cardiff Records, I, p. 12.

122. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. I, pp. 152-61 ; Vol. III, pp. 234-51 ; Vol. IV, pp. 311-31.

123. Beresford (1967), p. 177.

124. PRO., SC6/1202/1 (Usk) ; Wood, J.G. (1922), The Island Chapel of St. Twrog in Severn and the Manors of Tintern Parva and Trelech, p. 93.

125. PRO., SC6/1202/5 ; printed in Hopkins (1988). See above, chapter four, p. 91.

126. See above, chapter four, pp. 89-95 ; chapter five, pp. 137-8.

127. Ibid, chapter four, p. 91 ; chapter five, pp. 137-8.

128. Ibid, chapter four, pp. 89-90.

129. Ibid, pp. 92-5.

130. Bristol Record Office, Bristol Great Orphan Book. Entry no. 32, ref. BRO 04421(1).

131. See above, chapter five, Robinson, D. (1980), Cowbridge : The Archaeology and Topography of a small market town in the Vale of Glamorgan, p. 38.

132. See above, chapter four, pp. 91-2, 116-7.

133. Ibid, pp. 89-95.

134. Ibid, chapter one, passim.

135. PRO., SC6/1202/8. Printed and translated in Matthews (1989), Cardiff Records, I, pp. 132-3.

136. Ibid.

137. Beresford (1967), pp. 207-09. The paths open to a burgess were still limited by a number of factors such as the skills he possessed and possible competition from other burgesses engaged in the same trades.

138. See above, chapter four, pp. 107-18 ; chapter five, pp. 154-64.

139. Ibid, chapter four, loc. cit.

140. Ibid.

141. Schofield, J. and Vince, A. (1994) Medieval Towns, pp. 19-20.

142. See above, chapter four, p. 111.

143. Beresford (1967), p. 218.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. Ballard, A. (1913) British Borough Charters, 1042-1216, VB, 1 ; Ballard, A. and Tait, J. (1923) British Borough Charters 1216-1307, quoted in Beresford (1967), p. 219.

147. Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. I, p. 101.

148. See above, chapter four, pp. 111-12.

149. Ibid, pp. 115-16.

150. Ibid.

151. Rees, W. (1969), p. 48.

152. Ibid.

153. Clark, Cartae, I, no. 171, p. 173.

154. PRO., SC6/1202/1, m1 ; printed in Matthews (1989) Cardiff Records, I, p. 204.

155. PRO., Exchequer, K. R., Ancient Extents, E142/88 m. 7 ; printed in Clark, Cartae, II, no. 615, pp. 657-8. Griffiths, R.A. (1971), p. 337.

156. Matthews (1989) Cardiff Records, I, pp. 107-113.

157. Ibid, p. 132.

158. PRO., SC6/1202/6, m.10 ; SC6/1202/7, mm.11-13 ; SC6/1202/8, m.3 ; printed in Hopkins (1988).

159. SC6/1202/6.

160. SC6/920/21.

161. SC6/1202/9 ; printed (but misdated as 1281) in Clark, Cartae, III, no. 747, p. 835.

162. Beresford (1967), p. 9.

163. Ibid.

164. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. IV, no. 435, p. 322 ; Matthews (1898) Cardiff Records, I, pp. 267-68.

165. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371 ; ibid, Vol. IV, no. 435 ; ibid, Vol. V, no. 538 ; PRO., SC6/1202/1 ; SC6/1202/5.

166. PRO., SC6/927/3 ; SC6/927/14. in 1296-7, however, Usk was temporarily in royal hands.

167. PRO., SC6/920/15 ; SC6/920/17 ; SC6/920/18.

168. Ibid.

169. See above, chapter five, p. 164 and passim.

170. Ibid, pp. 154-64.

171. Ibid, p. 164.

172. See above, chapter two, passim for a full discussion of the Clares' policies and political manoeuvrings.

173. See above, chapter five, loc. cit.

174. Ibid, pp. 157-61.

175. Ibid.

176. Beresford (1967), p. 191.

177. Ibid, p. 192 ; see above, p. 178.

178. PRO., SC6/925/30 ; Rees, W. (1968), p. 39.

179. Ibid.

180. They might, for example, be included as part of the tolls of the borough.

181. For a detailed overview of ironworking in this period see Rees, W. (1968), pp. 36-44.

182. See above, chapter five, pp. 160-2.

183. Courtney (1994), p. 128.

184. See above, chapter five, pp. 161-64.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid, pp. 154-7.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid.

189. See above, chapter three, passim ; chapter five, pp. 162-3.

190. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. III, no. 371 ; ibid, Vol. IV, no. 435 ; ibid, Vol. V, no. 538 ; PRO., SC6/1202/1 ; PRO., SC6/1202/6 ; PRO., SC6/1202/7; PRO., SC6/1202/8; PRO., SC6/1202/9.

191. See above, chapter five, table 4.

192. PRO., SC6/1202/7 ; see above, chapter five, p. 161 and note 261.

193. See above, pp. 192-6.

194. PRO., SC6/1247/21 ; PRO., SC6/925/23 ; PRO., SC6/925/24 ; PRO., SC6/925/28 ; PRO., SC6/925/30.

195. Ibid.

196. PRO., SC6/1247/21.

197. PRO., SC6/925/23 ; PRO., SC6/925/24.

198. PRO., SC6/925/28 ; PRO., SC6/925/30.

199. See above, chapter five, pp. 160-1.

200. Ibid, pp. 132-3, 157.

201. Hopkins (1988), p. 11.

202. Beresford (1967), p. 198.

203. See above, chapter three, passim.

204. Ibid.

205. Ibid.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PIECEMEAL DEVELOPMENT AND SEIGNEURIAL INTENTIONS

The apparent preponderance of seigneurial influence which characterised the overall development of the Clares' Welsh urban centres leads us to the final important point to be considered in this study. That the seigneur represented the dominant influence appears to be beyond doubt. What remains to be asked, however, is whether the seigneurial actions identified in the previous chapter were a consequence of opportunistic piecemeal development, or a reflection of a conscious, homogeneous attitude towards the process of urbanisation on the part of the Clare earls of Gloucester. This represents an important distinction. Of course, we must exercise great caution when using modern terminology to describe medieval events. Our interpretation and understanding of what constitutes 'homogeneous lordship' is, after all, likely to be quite different from that of the medieval mind.[1] Nevertheless, with this reservation firmly in mind, it should still be possible to obtain an understanding as to whether the towns in question were separate entities linked only by common lordship, or whether their development was far more interrelated than that.

EVIDENCE OF HOMOGENEOUS SEIGNEURIAL ACTION IN URBAN ADMINISTRATION

Turning firstly to the administration of the boroughs, it has emerged from earlier discussions that an apparently similar pattern developed across the Clare lordships.[2] Headed by a constable, the administration of each town appears to have been supplemented by the lesser offices of reeve, bailiff and ale taster.[3] From the little evidence which has survived, it would seem that these lesser officials were selected by the constable from a list of nominations put forward by the burgesses themselves. This would seem to suggest a degree of uniformity, but to what extent can it be confidently attributed to a conscious desire on the part of the seigneur to implement a coherent, homogeneous style of lordship across their Welsh urban centres as a whole? The apparent uniformity of administrative structures would certainly seem to suggest that the Clares were keen to maintain a similar level of control over all their Welsh urban centres. Indeed, earlier in this study it was noted that the thirteenth century witnessed notable reforms to the administrative structure of the Clares' Marcher lordships as a whole.[4] By converting a loose federation of demesne lands, sub-infeudated fiefs and virtually independent native commotes into a much more centralised bloc of lordships, the earls were able to exercise strong control and thus maximise profits.[5] This was achieved, at least in part, by a fairly rigid and clearly defined administrative structure which was quite advanced for the period. Did it follow that the earls and their senior officials wished to extend this uniformity of administrative practice into the local administration of the boroughs? Such a policy would undoubtedly have been beneficial to the earls in as much as a uniform pattern of administration across all of the towns is likely to have engendered a measure of stability. For any town to be successful in the long term, relations had to be good between the seigneur and the burgesses.[6] The chosen pattern of government in the Clares' Welsh towns was not restrictive or oppressive, as it allowed the burgesses of the towns a role, albeit minor, in the selection of the lesser administrative officials. Was it the intention of the Clares, by means of

implementing a 'standard' administrative system, actively and consciously to seek to establish fairly strong seigneurial control while maintaining stability amongst their urban populations?

Unfortunately, the poor survival of primary evidence from this period means that we are unlikely ever to be able to offer a conclusive answer to this question. Certainly, many doubts exist. Rather than being a direct consequence of homogeneous lordship, the apparent uniformity of administrative structures in the Clares' Welsh towns may have inadvertently stemmed from much more piecemeal development. In the previous chapter it was suggested that a proportion of the settlers attracted to the new towns implanted by the Clares were, in fact, drawn from existing urban centres, both within the same lordship and from further afield.[7] If this was the case, it may follow that the administrative pattern prevalent in the Clares' Welsh towns was simply the minimum needed to entice settlers from their home towns. The structure was already in place in the inherited towns as a legacy of earlier seigneurs, and was in any case fairly common by the mid-thirteenth century. The Clare earls of Gloucester may, therefore, have felt compelled to offer them in their new towns in order to attract sufficient skilled craftsmen and merchants.[8] In essence, therefore, this administrative structure may have offered the 'path of least resistance' for the seigneur; a tried and trusted pattern acceptable to both parties but not motivated by, or implemented through, any great desire for uniformity. Certainly, any desire for cohesion and uniformity in the basic internal government of the ten boroughs is not reflected in the wider freedoms and liberties granted to the townspeople by the Clare earls. While a number of the towns in question shared the liberties and customs of Cardiff, there is little indication that the Clares followed any distinctive homogeneous policy towards the granting of charters to the townspeople of their various urban centres.[9] From the little evidence which has survived, it would seem to be the case that the prevailing seigneurial attitude was one which saw particular freedoms and privileges granted to individual towns as and when it was seen to be necessary. Neath, for example, received the grant of a fair in 1280 because it was required by that particular town.[10] Gilbert fitz Gilbert's proclamation that use of the markets in Caerphilly and Llantrisant was to be free from toll for seven years from 1312 was made because he wished to stimulate the economic life of those boroughs.[11] The motivation in each case might have been quite different. On some occasions it might have been the positive intention of the seigneur to stimulate the economic life of a borough for the benefit of himself and the townspeople; in others it may simply have been a reaction to mounting burgess pressure. In fact, as we have seen, charters were not always obtained by towns directly from the seigneur. The apparently independent action of the burgesses of Cardiff in obtaining the 'Customs of Hereford' is perhaps the most conclusive argument against the existence of any homogeneous policy towards this aspect of urban development.[12] If the Clares had operated a coherent 'policy' of awarding customs and liberties to their burgesses, it would seem most unlikely that they would have allowed such independence of action to occur. It would appear much more likely that the granting of charters and the awarding of customs was achieved by decidedly piecemeal lordship.

IN THE FABRIC OF THE BOROUGHS

The possibility of some form of cohesive seigneurial action within the administrative patterns implemented in the Clares' Welsh towns is even less readily apparent in the development of the fabric of the boroughs; that is the physical growth of their infrastructure and topography in all its constituent parts and forms. For a number of reasons, which will shortly be explained, this is less than surprising. Although undeniably an extremely important aspect of urban development, and clearly one in which the seigneur played a dominant role, the potential for the earls to adopt a homogeneous attitude towards the physical growth of their urban centres was ultimately restricted by a number of variable factors.[13] Nowhere was this more true than in that most basic requirement, the choice of site. An element of cohesion in the choice of location is likely for the simple reason that most medieval towns required similar geographical features if they were to be successful. The wealth and resources of a town's hinterland were central to its ultimate prosperity and growth, but for this potential to be exploited fully towns required access to communication links, both land and water borne.[14] Water, in particular, was seen as an important pre-requisite, and all but ten of the medieval towns of Wales lay either along the coast or the course of a river.[15] Consequently, it is not surprising to find that Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, Usk, Neath, Kenfig and Caerphilly were all located upon major land routes and/or navigable rivers.[16] Indeed, only Trelech and Llantrisant differed from this common pattern.[17] Despite this apparent similarity in the choice of site in the case of the majority of the towns in question, there would seem no good reason to suspect any conscious homogeneous intentions on the part of the seigneurs. Firstly, only two of the towns located near good communication links, Cowbridge and Caerphilly, were founded by the Clares. Secondly, in both these cases the choice of this 'typical' site is likely to be a simple reflection of wider attitudes and practice, rather than a predetermined 'policy' of the Clares. Certainly, the rather differing choice of sites for the new implantations at Llantrisant and Trelech suggests piecemeal development. Rather than develop towns upon a particular type of site, they simply chose a location suited to each town's individual needs, albeit within the natural restrictions imposed by local geography. Both Llantrisant and Trelech do not appear to have been implanted as trading centres first and foremost, and thus their locations were determined by their own rather different requirements.[18]

This tendency towards individual development of a town's location is also apparent in the topographical layout of the ten boroughs. The internal plan of a medieval town was, after all, reliant upon many more factors than seigneurial intentions alone. Physical and geographical limitations were a major influence upon layout, and could often determine the plan of a town. We have already seen, for example, how the importance of the 'Port Way' and relatively confined physical area available combined to shape Cowbridge as a largely linear development.[19] Similarly, Llantrisant's hill top location largely forced development to follow a grid-like pattern.[20] Yet important as the physical limitations of the sites undoubtedly were, they alone cannot explain the wide variations in the internal planning of the Clares' towns. In the more open areas of Trelech and Caerphilly, and in the expansion which occurred in the existing towns of Cardiff, Newport and Usk, there was the potential for the Clares and their planners to follow a similar pattern towards the layout of each. Yet this simply did not occur. At Cardiff, Trelech and Newport developments to the street plans appear to have been grid-like

in layout.[21] At Caerphilly and Usk, however, the developments appear to have been linear in nature.[22] The laying out of towns and the management of their subsequent expansion certainly demanded a measure of seigneurial involvement, and the Clares' urban centres were no different in this respect. However, on the strength of the available evidence, we can only conclude that the Clare earls of Gloucester and their planners did not possess any fixed policy as to how this should be achieved. Natural restrictions could sometimes pose problems, but even where these were less of an issue, the Clares appear to have developed layouts and street plans in a entirely independent manner. The apparently individual, piecemeal attitude taken to the location and layout of the towns in question appears to have been repeated yet again in the internal infrastructure. From the little evidence we have, bridges, mills, quays, market places, brew-houses and bake-houses all appear to have developed in each particular town as and when they were required by the members of that community. This is only to be expected, however, as the varying rates of growth and differing economic roles meant that the needs of an individual borough could be quite different from neighbouring towns. Ultimately, with the passage of time, a measure of similarity could emerge; most towns, for instance, possessed mills. However, in no way could this be regarded as a homogeneous seigneurial intention. Although all ten towns shared a common lord, the internal development of each was an individual process that was motivated by a largely unique set of influences; the opportunity for the seigneur to adopt a homogeneous attitude to such developments simply did not arise.

While individual factors prevented the cohesive development of the boroughs' internal fabric, it is possible that the earls may have adopted some form of homogeneous policy towards the defensive measures employed in their towns. Defence, after all, was a significant consideration in all towns in the volatile March of the thirteenth century. However, from the earlier discussions of the towns' development it becomes clear that the Clares and their planners once again took something of a piecemeal approach. As we have seen, Cardiff, Neath and Cowbridge all possessed stone walls by the fourteenth century; Kenfig, Usk, Newport and Trelech were defended by earthen banks and wooden palisades; and Llantrisant and Caerphilly appear to have lacked man-made defences beyond their castles.[23] Caerleon, of course, had yet another variation, with the remains of the Roman walls being shored-up with earthen banks.[24] Once again, many of the defensive provisions were in place prior to the Clare period of lordship, but no attempt to standardize defensive provisions during the century of their rule appears to have been made. Indeed, the four towns newly implanted by the family exhibited quite different defensive provisions themselves. This combines to suggest that defensive measures were once again subject to essentially piecemeal lordship. Certainly, the approach taken by the Clares to the defence of their boroughs is somewhat difficult to understand. That Cardiff, the caput of the family's Welsh lands, should have acquired powerful masonry defences seems clear enough. Rather less clear, however, is why Neath developed a circuit of stone walls while the equally vulnerable borough at Kenfig retained its twelfth century earthworks. Similarly, why did Trelech, in the relatively 'safe' area near the English border, apparently receive some form of earthen defences while the potentially highly vulnerable borough at Caerphilly did not? Presumably lordship was the key factor and towns of particular importance, be it military, administrative or economic, were deemed to have required suitable defences. Whether this was indeed the case is difficult to establish from the surviving

evidence. Even if it were, doubts must remain as to whether such a policy can be properly regarded as being homogeneous.

IN THE WIDER ADMINISTRATIVE ROLES OF THE TOWNS

So far in this investigation of homogeneous seigneurial action we have concentrated upon the internal factors of town development, what one might term the 'micro' element. Quite clearly, from the arguments put forward there would seem to be very little evidence of any cohesive, homogeneous pattern towards the internal development and evolution of the Clares' Welsh boroughs. However, what must be understood is that the internal development of the towns was by no means the only area of urbanisation which could reflect the existence of a cohesive seigneurial policy. Of equal, and perhaps even greater, importance was the more general roles played by the towns as a whole within the Clares' Welsh inheritance; what one might term the 'macro' element. A prime example of this 'macro' element is the administrative role played by the towns in question. If we return for a moment to the discussion of the administrative structure and systems of the Clares' Welsh lordships which was pursued in chapter three of this study, it will be remembered that each of the ten urban centres played an extremely important role in the process of administrative reorganisation initiated by the earls throughout the thirteenth century.[25] The six inherited towns continued to fulfil their existing administrative roles, while the four new implantations served to reinforce seigneurial domination over the newly acquired areas. Cowbridge was implanted in the heart of Richard Siward's confiscated lordships of Llanbleddian and Talyfan; Llantrisant town and castle were developed to form a visible sign of seigneurial administration in the recently incorporated commotes of Meisgyn and Glynrhondda while Caerphilly was founded to fulfil a similar role in Senghenydd.[26] Trelech, meanwhile, played something of a twin administrative role. In the first instance, it served as the local administrative centre in northern Usk, reinforcing Clare lordship. During the tenure of Earl Gilbert 'the Red', however, Trelech appears to have assumed much greater administrative power, hosting the receivership of Usk lordship between 1267 and 1289.[27] Indeed, Trelech appears to have continued to assume at least partial responsibility for the fiscal affairs of the lordship for a number of years after Gilbert recovered full control of the lordship.[28] That the towns played an important administrative role seems, therefore, beyond doubt. What we must now ask ourselves, however, is whether the administrative roles which they adopted were a consequence of a homogeneous seigneurial policy.

Certainly, the nature and circumstances of their foundation, combined with a distinct similarity in their administrative function, suggests that this is at least a very real possibility. Each of the four new towns of the Clares was implanted almost immediately after the appropriation of the surrounding area, suggesting that urban centres were viewed by both Earl Richard and the 'Red Earl' as being a necessary tool in the consolidation of their seigneurial authority. In virtually every major territorial acquisition of the thirteenth century, the Clares reinforced military control with the implantation of new urban centres. In itself, there is nothing particularly unusual in this policy of using the town as a means of reinforcing seigneurial control and administration. On the contrary, it was one of the principal roles of virtually all Marcher towns and had certainly been a central factor in the foundation of Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Caerleon and Usk during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[29] The

Clares were by no means revolutionary in using towns to fulfil this role; rather they simply followed a well worn path. What was unusual, however, was the scale upon which this was undertaken and the precise, almost pre-determined manner in which it was achieved.

This question of the density of urban implantation in the Clares' Welsh lordships is particularly interesting. Glamorgan, at the time of its inheritance by the Clare family in 1217, was already subject to fairly dense urbanisation with towns at Cardiff, Kenfig, Neath and Newport, albeit the latter being in the sub-lordship of Gwynllŵg. Similarly, the much smaller lordships of Usk and Caerleon each possessed a single, substantial urban focus. Yet during their subsequent consolidation of their important Welsh lands, the Clares were willing to supplement these existing boroughs with further implantations. It could be argued that these newly incorporated areas could have been served well enough by those existing urban centres and that only castles were required in those particularly troublesome areas of upland Glamorgan. Indeed contemporary developments in neighbouring lordships, which will be considered in some detail later in this chapter, add some weight to this argument.[30] However, the fact appears to be that the Clare earls, and by that we essentially mean Richard fitz Gilbert and the Red Earl, saw towns as a prime tool in reinforcing seigneurial control. Indeed, it could even be argued that urban centres were the primary tool rather than the castles. Caerphilly and, to a lesser extent, Llantrisant were undeniably dominated by their castles, but this was most certainly not the case at Trelech and Cowbridge. As we have seen, at Trelech the castle which stood within the town was of negligible military importance during the second half of the thirteenth century.[31] Meanwhile Cowbridge, of course, was not even accompanied by a castle. It is not until the rebuilding of Llanbleddian castle by Gilbert fitz Gilbert de Clare in the early fourteenth century, some half a mile from the town, that we detect any notable military fortification in the immediate vicinity.[32]

That towns represented an important means of reinforcing seigneurial control seems clear, as is the fact that the Clares were willing to develop a high density of such implantations. The question which follows, however, is whether these developments were truly homogeneous in nature. Was it the pre-determined intention of the Clare earls to develop towns as administrative centres in all major territorial acquisitions? Or was the implantation of Cowbridge, Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly merely a consequence of piecemeal development, a reaction to unfolding events? Unfortunately, once again, the relative lack of evidence for the period is a severe handicap when trying to establish seigneurial intentions. Nevertheless, the balance of probability would seem to suggest that the Clares operated an attitude towards the administrative role of urban implantations that went beyond piecemeal lordship. The swift foundation of new urban centres which were contemporary, or near contemporary, with the appropriation of an area appears ultimately to suggest that the Clares regarded a town as a pre-determined unit in the administrative domination of any major territorial acquisition.

IN THE WIDER ECONOMIC ROLES OF THE TOWNS

While the administrative role of towns was undoubtedly a major factor in their implantation and development, the point has been consistently made throughout this study that the implantation of the Clares' towns was not motivated by one single factor. Inextricably linked to the military and

administrative role of the towns is the question of their economic purpose and influence. If we are to consider the wider attitude of the family towards their urban centres as a whole properly, then we must also fully appreciate the nature of, and the motivation behind, their economic roles. After all, as time passed and the military role of towns declined, it was the commercial and economic purpose of urban centres that increasingly became the dominant factor in their 'macro' development. In common with so many aspects of this investigation, it is extremely difficult to determine any degree of homogeneous action by the Clare earls of Gloucester in shaping the economic role and exploitation of those existing towns which they inherited in Wales during the course of the thirteenth century. The economic patterns prevalent in these towns would appear to have been largely determined during their earlier development, and from the little evidence we do have, it would seem that this existing pattern then continued largely unchanged during the subsequent period of Clare lordship.[33] This quite obviously presents difficulties when trying to identify homogeneous seigneurial intentions, and consequently we shall concentrate upon the economic roles performed by the four new implantations of the thirteenth century. It is here that we might expect to find the strongest evidence for the Clares' seigneurial actions and intentions.

From our earlier discussions of the economic roles and development of Cowbridge, Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly, it is apparent that they all shared a single, basic economic role. From the point of their initial foundation, all appear to have acted as the economic and marketing centre for their hinterlands.[34] The reasons for this are clear. As each new area was added to the Clare Marcher inheritance, it provided the earls with the prospect of increased seigneurial profits. Principally, and particularly in the areas around Cowbridge and Trelech, this income would presumably have been derived from the agricultural exploitation of the land. As has been seen, the Clares were keenly aware that by developing towns to serve as markets and centres of production, they could further maximise the economic potential of their estates. This, of course, was particularly true of the March where the economy and society remained rather more localised than in lowland England. While the desire to maximise seigneurial revenues was certainly a common factor in the development of all four towns, this objective may not have represented a conscious, homogeneous 'policy' on the part of the Clare earls. Rather, it is likely that their new towns were simply following the wider pattern of medieval urbanisation where virtually all towns acted as the marketing and production foci of the surrounding area.[35] Indeed, it had been a common consideration in the development of Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Caerleon and Usk in the twelfth century.

In common with the administrative roles played by the four new towns, however, it was the density of this urban settlement which marks out the development in the Clare lordships as different. Again, rather than simply exploiting the economic potential of these newly acquired areas by incorporating them within the economic spheres of the existing urban centres, the Clare earls appear to have felt that their Welsh lands were sufficiently buoyant in economic terms to be able to support additional urban centres with their associated markets. More than this, though, the Clares seem to have been acutely aware that additional urban marketing centres served to tighten seigneurial control over the commercial life of every corner of their Marcher bloc. The town was a tool for much more than expanding and stimulating the commercial life of a particular locality. Just as a high density of

urbanisation served to reinforce seigneurial administrative domination, so it also served to demonstrate their supremacy in the commercial and economic life of their lordships. The economic roles of the four boroughs implanted by the family during the thirteenth century clearly went much further than fulfilling the apparent need for additional marketing centres in newly appropriated lands, however. In the course of chapter five, an extremely important point emerged from the investigation into the economic development of the four new towns; namely that they were intrinsically different from the six inherited towns in as much as each was apparently founded to perform a specific, possibly pre-determined role.[36] This, it has been suggested, was the reason why the new towns, and in particular Cowbridge and Trelech, were able to expand so quickly. The existence of such economic specialisation obviously has implications for our investigation into the possibility of homogeneous seigneurial actions on the part of the Clare earls. Trelech, it will be remembered, emerged as a major industrial centre; Cowbridge developed as an important marketing centre for the Vale of Glamorgan and beyond: while Llantrisant and Caerphilly were charged with supporting the castles and their garrisons, which dominated the lives of both towns.[37]

This specialisation of economic function in the Clares' four new towns offers strong support for the suggestion that the Clare family applied a homogeneous policy towards the development of their towns and their wider relationship to their Welsh lands as a whole. By seeing each individual town as having a particular role to play within the wider economic pattern of their Welsh lordships, the Clares appear to have used towns to fulfil specific, recognised needs. This was something quite different from the economic roles performed by the inherited towns which had developed in the same lordships prior to the period of Clare lordship. Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Caerleon and Usk all followed what one might term the 'traditional' economic pattern of the medieval Marcher town. With their origins in the military-economic role demonstrated by Llantrisant and Caerphilly, each of the inherited towns had followed a pattern of apparently piecemeal development which had seen them react to, and evolve from, the wider pressures of the general economic situation rather than the direct influence of the seigneur.[38] Consequently, by the thirteenth century they each possessed a multifarious economic base fulfilling numerous roles.[39] The Clares' new towns were different. By fulfilling specific, specialised economic roles they each appear to indicate a desire on the part of the earls to exploit the potential of their lordships in a much more cohesive, homogeneous fashion.

IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TOWNS AND THE REST OF THE LORDSHIPS

From the discussion of the wider administrative and economic roles of the towns, it appears that the Clare earls of Gloucester adopted some form of homogeneous 'policy' towards this 'macro' element of urban development. Towns seem to have played a central, cohesive role in the wider development of the lordships in question, both in terms of military and administrative consolidation of seigneurial control and the subsequent economic exploitation of the lands and their populations. Moreover, from our earlier investigations into the development of the towns, both inherited and newly implanted, evidence has emerged to suggest that the urban centres in general may have performed a homogeneous role in the expansion of the Clare inheritance above and beyond those factors which have already been discussed. In 1289, it will be remembered, Earl Gilbert 'the Red' concluded an important

agreement with Neath Abbey.[40] In return for an annual payment of £100, Earl Gilbert obtained most of the lands granted to the abbey by Richard de Granville in 1130.[41] Consisting of extensive estates between the Rivers Nedd and Tawe, the abbey lands represented an important acquisition for Gilbert and reinforced his seigneurial control over the western reaches of Glamorgan. As the 'Abbot's Rents', these annual payments remained in force until the dissolution of the monasteries, though they were not always rendered in full.[42] As was discussed earlier, this annual payment was to be paid to the abbey from specified rents due from the demesne manors of Llanbleddian and Llantwit Major, and burgage rents from the boroughs of Neath, Cowbridge, Cardiff and Caerleon.[43] The contribution specified for Neath was £5 14s. 4½d.; from Cowbridge £14 12s. 7d.; from Cardiff £20 3s. 0d. and from Caerleon £10 7s. 4d.[44]

These were considerable sums of money, the amount from Cowbridge alone was the equivalent of rent rendered by no less than 292 burgages; that from Cardiff some 403 burgages. This tells us two things. Firstly, that the lands were of sufficient value to Gilbert that he was willing to pay so much. Secondly, and particularly interesting from our point of view, it demonstrated that Gilbert had enormous confidence in the present and future success of a number of his urban centres.[45] Indeed, the earl was not being unduly confident as the following table shows:

	ACTUAL BURGAGE RENTS	AMOUNT OWED TO NEATH ABBEY
CARDIFF	£21 3s. 0d. (1307)	£20 3s. 0d
COWBRIDGE	c£13 8s. 0d. (1307)	£14 12s. 7d
NEATH	£ 6 15s. 3½d. (1311-12)	£ 5 14s. 4½d
CAERLEON	£12 16s. 4d (1305-06)	£10 7s. 4d

TABLE FIVE : BURGAGE RENTS IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

FIGURES FOR CARDIFF AND COWBRIDGE FROM CALENDAR OF I.P.M.'s VOL. IV, no. 435.[46]

FIGURES FOR NEATH PRO SC6/1202/5.

FIGURES FOR CAERLEON FROM PRO SC6/920/17/

As is quite clearly shown, by the early fourteenth century all except Cowbridge were returning more in overall burgage rent to the seigneur than was owed to Neath Abbey. Indeed, the fact that Cowbridge was a new foundation which was still enjoying notable growth is reflected in the fact that by 1316 the town may well have had some 293½ burgages. These would have returned rent of £14 13s. 6d., just exceeding the amount demanded by the abbey.[47]

At first glance, the agreement between Gilbert and Adam de Kaermerdyn (Adam of Carmarthen), the Abbot of Neath, would seem to suggest that the Red Earl regarded the towns and the profits they returned to be of less importance than extending his demesne lands in Glamorgan. After all, £50 17s. 3½d. of burgage rents represented a significant amount of money. This may well have

been the case, but the implications of using boroughs as the major source of income for the yearly payment to the abbey go much further. By choosing a number of urban centres, Gilbert would also appear to have regarded his towns in general as being a fairly safe and consistent economic feature of his Welsh lordships. Certainly, manors played a part as £49 2s. 8½d. of the payment was drawn from Llanbleddian and Llantwit Major.[48] Yet manors, while often more valuable than towns, were also much more vulnerable to the vagaries of nature and the prevailing military and political situation.[49] For Gilbert to have agreed to have paid all £100 per annum from manorial sources would have represented a much greater risk on his part than by taking it from the burgage rents of a number of his towns. Whether this actually was the motivation behind Gilbert's decision is unclear, as no evidence has survived regarding the exchange beyond the agreement itself. It certainly represents a plausible explanation, however. If true, it would also reinforce the view that the Clare earls of Gloucester regarded their Welsh towns as something more than unrelated piecemeal developments. Rather, Gilbert appears to have seen them as a distinct unit of seigneurial income which offered him an attractive, convenient and relatively stable means of fulfilling his monetary obligations to the abbot of Neath. Undoubtedly, Gilbert was willing to sacrifice some seigneurial profits from the towns in order to extend his landed wealth. Yet this may well have been viewed as a short-term loss. The cohesive, homogeneous attitude taken by the Clare earls of Gloucester towards urban development in their lordships may have meant that Gilbert fully expected his urban centres to continue to expand and thus return greater profits in the future.

THE EVIDENCE FOR HOMOGENEOUS URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN NEIGHBOURING LORDSHIPS

Urban development in the Clare lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk was not an insulated phenomenon. At the same time that the Clares' urban centres were multiplying and evolving, parallel developments were occurring in lordships across the March of Wales. This point has been recognised throughout this study, but it is of particular importance in the context of this discussion of homogeneous intentions. If we are properly to understand the existence and extent of any cohesive, homogeneous policy towards urbanisation on the part of the Clares, then we must attempt to place it in some sort of context. Without any comparison with wider attitudes towards urbanisation, it is impossible to recognise whether there was anything unusual or revolutionary in the actions of the Clares. Consequently, it is important to consider briefly the nature of parallel urban developments in a number of neighbouring lordships. Clearly, the constraints of space mean that a full comparison of every aspect of urban development is simply not possible; indeed, that would represent a thesis in itself. Rather, this overview will take the form of a brief comparison based upon those major areas discussed in this chapter; namely internal government, internal fabric, wider administrative roles, economic roles and other political interests of the seigneurs.

i. THE LORDSHIP OF STRIGUIL

The lordship of Striguil, in common with the lordships of Usk and Caerleon, was created out of the old lordship of Netherwent as a consequence of the Marshal partition of 1245.[50] The new lordship was granted to Hugh Bigod, son of the elder Hugh Bigod (d. 1225) and Maud Marshal. Like Richard de Clare, Hugh was prominent in the Baronial movement, serving as justiciar between 1258 and 1260 before deserting de Montfort for the king in 1263-4.[51] Following Hugh's death in 1266, Striguil passed to his brother, Roger, earl of Norfolk, who was also a key player in the Baronial movement.[52] His tenure proved short, however, as he died four years later to be succeeded by his son, also named Roger.[53] Roger Bigod III, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, held the lordship for over thirty years until his death in 1306, and his tenure proved to be one of great influence, both in the March and the kingdom as a whole.

Urbanisation within the lordship in 1245 was limited to the town of Chepstow.[54] It will be remembered from the earlier discussion of urban development in south-east Wales that Chepstow was one of the earliest Anglo-Norman foundations, being valued at £16 in the Domesday survey.[55] The town appears to have steadily evolved during the twelfth century as the caput of Netherwent, but it is not until the Bigod period that we gain a more detailed insight into the nature of the medieval borough. Upon the death of Roger Bigod III in 1306, Chepstow contained some 308 burgages laid out along a number of major and minor streets which formed a rough grid pattern.[56] Bigod's hand is perhaps most evident at Chepstow castle, but he also made improvements to the town's defensive provisions. At some time between c.1272-78 he constructed the 'Port Wall', a stone enclosure of the landward side of the town.[57] The economic life of the borough would appear to have been broadly similar to that in the Clares' larger boroughs. In the Inquisition Post Mortem following Roger's death in 1306, we learn that rent of assize amounted to £15 8s. 4d.; rent of shops in the market 60s. ; prise of ale £20; toll of merchandise passing through the borough £20; and prise of fish 1s.[58] Earl Roger had evidently been keen to develop his town as an economic centre, as in 1294 he granted Chepstow the right to hold an annual fair and a weekly market.[59] The grant of the market is likely to have been confirmatory, but the fair appears to have been a new grant which is rather surprising given the late date and the size of the town.[60] Nevertheless, the grant indicates that Bigod was actively involved in developing Chepstow's economy and mirrors the contemporary actions of Gilbert 'the Red' at Neath.[61] The market and fair, together with the sea trade based on quays on the riverbank, are likely to have dominated the economic life of the town. Certainly, those typical medieval urban trades evidenced in the Clares' towns are also likely to have been present in various numbers and concentration at Chepstow. There is, however, no indication of any dominant craft or industry of the type seen at Trelech. In common with the majority of Marcher towns, Chepstow's economy was largely based on the local retail trade, although its role as a port probably meant that it served as a centre of luxury imports and the export of goods such as wool.[62] In terms of size and economic role, therefore, Chepstow bore a great deal of similarity to the Clares' Welsh caput of Cardiff, albeit rather less valuable. Indeed, this similarity is reinforced by the fact that Chepstow, like Cardiff, would have benefited economically from the administrative importance of a great castle.[63]

Roger Bigod III clearly took an active role in developing both the commercial potential and the infrastructure of Chepstow, mirroring the actions of the Clares' in their Welsh boroughs. Where the attitude of Bigod differed quite significantly, however, was in the freedoms granted to the townsfolk and their involvement in the administration of the town. The familiar administrative pattern of constable, reeve and bailiff seen in the Clare towns is not evidenced before 1456 in Chepstow, and there is reason to suppose that during the thirteenth century the town was ruled directly by the 'governor' (constable) and officials of the castle.[64] Indeed, the town would not appear to have been incorporated by charter until 1524.[65] This apparent lack of burgess involvement in the governance of the town would seem to have been replicated in the economic administration. No evidence exists for guilds merchant, socio-religious or craft guilds at Chepstow at any time during the middle ages, although the existence of a 'Booth-hall' in 1456 indicates some form of town management.[66] Certainly, in terms of burgess involvement in the running of the town, Chepstow can be seen to be lagging behind Cardiff and a number of the Clares' other towns. The reasons for this restriction of burgess involvement are less than clear. As with the Clares, it remains uncertain how important Bigod's lordship was in hindering the growth of burghal institutions, and it may in fact be the case that the town's size was a more important restraint.[67]

Away from Chepstow, urbanisation in the rest of Striguil is notable by its absence. Clearly, in the context of the original lordship of Netherwent, Chepstow had been accompanied by further urban centres at Caerleon and Usk, but following the Marshal partition it represented the sole borough in the new, small lordship. Yet while the settlement of the partition only provided the Bigod earls of Norfolk with a single town in their new Welsh possessions, there is no indication that they successfully developed any new settlements worthy of the description 'town'.[68] This, quite obviously, is in contrast to the parallel situation in the Clare lordships where four towns were implanted between 1245 and 1270. The reasons for this would appear quite straightforward, however, and turn upon two major considerations. The first of these is the extent and nature of the lordship itself. As can be seen in figure twenty two, Striguil was a small lordship, approximately the same size as Caerleon. Largely lowland and lacking the sharp geographical and racial division which typified Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, the area was one of the first to fall in the Anglo-Norman conquest and subsequently represented one of the most securely held areas of the March.[69] This is reflected in the quiet history of the borough of Chepstow which appears to have escaped attack throughout the period in question.[70] Consequently, the calm political situation combined with the small physical area probably meant that Chepstow dominated the whole lordship, leaving little opportunity for a second town to be successful. After all, seigneurs only planted such boroughs in the expectations of profit. Certainly, the nature of the lordship meant that additional castle-boroughs such as those at Caerphilly and Llantrisant were not needed. Whether the burgesses of Chepstow played any role in dissuading the seigneur from implanting new towns is unknown, but the fact that they wielded little influence in their own town would argue against it.

The lack of additional urban centres was probably also influenced by the wider seigneurial interests of the Bigods. While they wielded considerable influence as earls of Norfolk and Marshals of

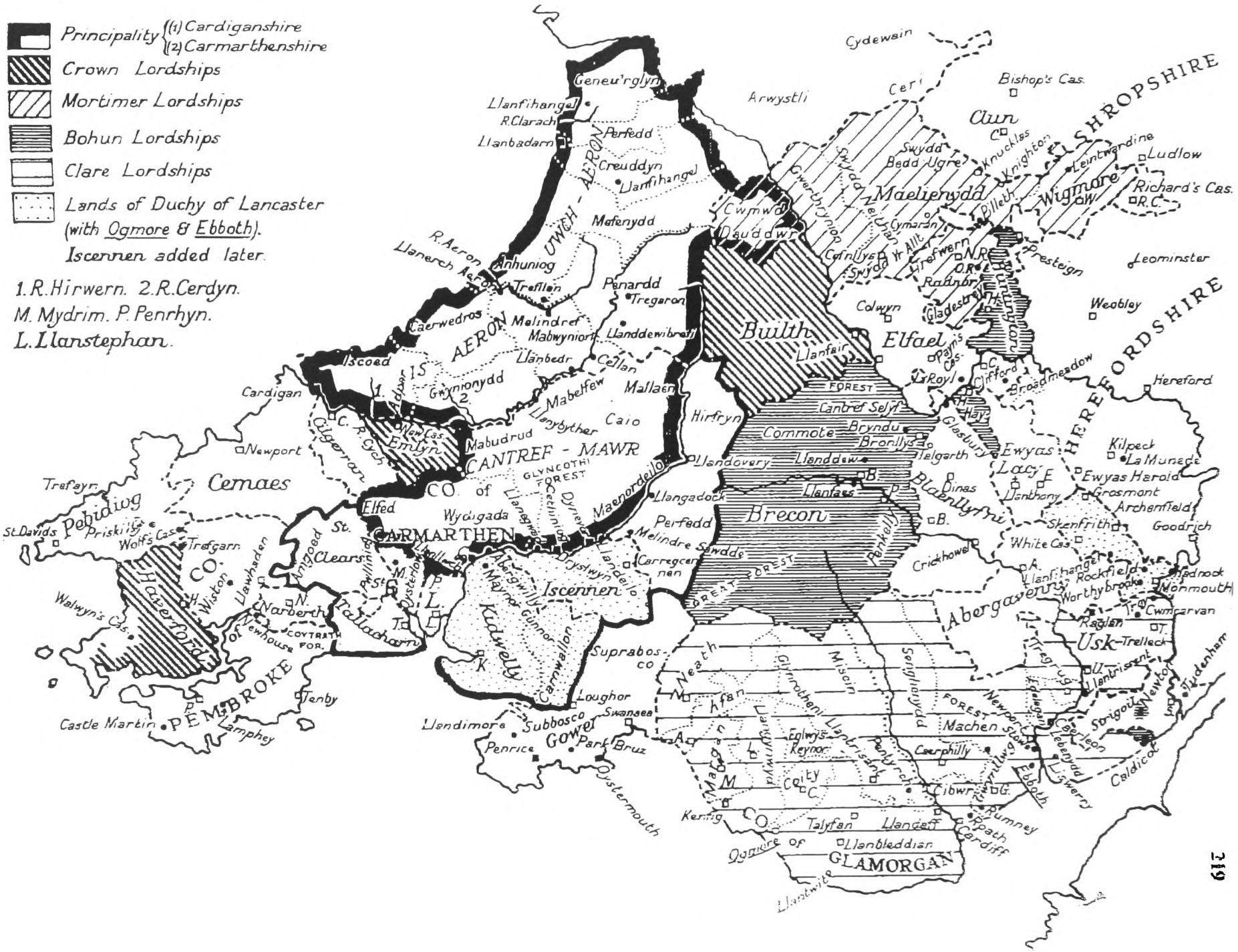


FIGURE TWENTY TWO : THE SOUTHERN MARCH, c1300 (AFTER WILLIAM REES).

England, the Bigod landed interest was dominated by their English estates; Striguil was their sole Marcher possession.[71] This is not to say that the lordship was unimportant, as Roger Bigod III in particular recognised the strategic importance of Striguil as a power base free from royal control.[72] Despite this active seigneurial interest, the need for additional military, administrative, commercial or specialised economic urban centres simply did not arise. Without a great bloc of Marcher lordships to exploit, Chepstow was probably regarded as being sufficient for what remained a territory of secondary importance. Quite obviously, therefore, there was no homogeneous attitude towards urbanisation by the Bigod earls of Norfolk as no urban centres developed in Striguil beyond Chepstow itself. However, from this brief discussion of Chepstow's evolution during the thirteenth century it would appear that the attitudes exhibited by the Bigods towards the internal development of Chepstow were largely similar to those demonstrated by the Clares in their inherited towns. This raises the possibility in our minds that the difference was not so much one of seigneurial attitude alone which determined the level and density of urbanisation within a lordship, but rather that the development of new towns could be hampered or even precluded by conditions beyond the control of the seigneur.

ii. THE LORDSHIP OF MONMOUTH AND THREE CASTLES

To the north of the Clare lordship of Usk lay the lordship of Monmouth and Three Castles (see figure twenty two). In common with Striguil, this area represented one of the first to fall into Anglo-Norman hands, and a fledgling borough had emerged alongside fitz Osbern's motte at Monmouth by the end of the eleventh century.[73] During the twelfth century, under the lordship of William fitz Baderon and his descendants, this small settlement at Monmouth developed into an important urban centre which represented the caput of the compact lordship of Monmouth.[74] Enclosed by a ditch, a wooden palisade and the Rivers Monnow and Wye, the town appears to have adopted the twin role of marketing focus and industrial centre quickly. In 1166-67, Baderon of Monmouth granted three forges in the town to the prior of St. Mary's, Monmouth, and from the wording of the charter it is clear that the town was involved in both the production and trade of iron.[75] Given that Monmouth represented the sole urban centre in the lordship at this time, however, it would seem unlikely that the production and trade of iron dominated the town to the extent later seen at Trelech. As at Cardiff and Chepstow, the town at Monmouth is likely to have acted as a centre of general production and exchange first and foremost.

Monmouth continued to develop during the early thirteenth century, and in 1256 it passed into the hands of King Henry III.[76] The castle, town and honour of Monmouth was then granted by the king to his eldest son, the Lord Edward. Edward also held the neighbouring lordship of Three Castles, and the addition of Monmouth provided him with a compact and valuable estate.[77] Edward's control was fairly short lived, however, for in 1267 control of the unified lordship of Monmouth and Three Castles passed to his brother, Edmund 'Crouchback', earl of Lancaster, and became a part of the vast Lancastrian inheritance. With control of the lordship passing first into the hands of Henry and then his two sons, much more substantial evidence has survived which allows the nature and extent of the borough of Monmouth to be much more readily apparent. In common with virtually all the Marcher

towns, Monmouth retained a distinctly agricultural air which saw burgesses directly involved in the production of foodstuffs and the rearing of livestock. The town continued to act as the marketing centre for the surrounding area, while the iron production noted in the twelfth century also retained its importance, with a forge being let for 15s. 4d. in 1256.[78] Although not explicitly mentioned in the surviving ministers accounts for this period, it would be fair to presume that a proportion of the population was engaged in the same range of crafts and trades as their contemporaries elsewhere.[79] Monmouth's favourable position on the River Wye also saw the town develop as a port from its earliest days, and by the later thirteenth century the town quays represented an important feature of the economy. From a Minister's Account of 1256 we also gain our first insight into the size of the medieval borough in terms of burgage numbers. Burgage rents returned that year suggest that the town contained some 190 burgages, fewer than Cardiff, Usk, Newport or Chepstow at that time, but still representing a substantial borough.[80] The burgages were located along an irregular grid of streets to the east of the castle, with a separate settlement on the opposite bank of Monnow known as 'Overmonnow' or 'Little Monmouth'.[81] The later thirteenth century also saw the development of masonry defences. In common with Chepstow, Monmouth's wall only ran along one side of the town, linking the Rivers Monnow and Wye to form an effective enclosure. The town's defences also benefited from a number of ditches and four stone gates, two of which were designed to fortify the bridges crossing the Wye and Monnow.[82]

With regard to internal government, Monmouth does not appear to have received a formal charter of incorporation during this period. Nevertheless, evidence has survived to indicate that the burgesses were not without liberties. During August 1256, for example, the burgesses of the town went before the king at Hereford to clarify their position regarding the debts owed by their previous lord John de Monmouth. In return for a payment of two gold marks, the king granted them a number of specific rights and assurances.[83] Firstly, it was confirmed that the burgesses should not be arrested for debts for which they were not the sureties or principal debtors. Secondly, it was stated that their goods should not be confiscated on their death but should pass to their heirs.[84] While limited, this royal grant served to confirm specific privileges which might have been questioned because of John's debts. At the same time, it also granted the burgesses immunity from certain penalties which could effect unincorporated towns. Aside from the privileges themselves, this incident was significant for another reason. The fact that the king was approached by a group of burgesses suggests that an embryonic corporate body had emerged. Indeed, it may be regarded as being rather more than embryonic as it had acquired that outward sign of authority and emancipation; a seal.[85] This fact suggests that despite a lack of formally granted charter of incorporation, the burgesses of Monmouth enjoyed a cohesion and independence of action quite the equal of any of their contemporaries in the Clares' Welsh towns. The pattern of internal government which existed within thirteenth century Monmouth was essentially the same as that seen in the Clares' towns. Both a reeve and bailiff are evidenced and although no information exists regarding the method of appointment, selection by the constable from burgess nominations must be a strong possibility given the cohesion of burgess activity. As was common elsewhere, the reeve and bailiff are likely to have been joined by lesser officials such as tasters of ale.

Prior to 1256, Monmouth had represented the sole urban focus of its lordship. The reasons why additional urbanisation had failed to develop seem straightforward, and bear a number of similarities to the parallel situation in Striguil lordship. Monmouth lordship was extremely small, much smaller even than Caerleon or Striguil, and this surely restricted the need for any additional urban centres. Moreover, Monmouth fulfilled the urban requirements of the entire lordship; it was the administrative, military, marketing and industrial focus. This dominance was undoubtedly compounded by the fact that, prior to 1256, Monmouth lordship represented the sole Marcher interest of its lords. If, like the Clares, they had acquired a substantial bloc of lordships the need might have emerged for additional urban centres within the lordship to serve a wider area. With the acquisition of the lordship by the crown, however, this situation changed radically when Monmouth was amalgamated with the neighbouring lordship of Three Castles. The lordship of Three Castles had been created during the reign of King Stephen, by incorporating the lands of Skenfrith, Grosmont and White Castles into a single entity. Urban settlement would appear to have been much slower to emerge within Three Castles than in neighbouring lordships, however. The first explicit reference to a borough dates to 1250, when such a settlement is noted at Grosmont.[86] Its origins were evidently earlier, however, and in 1219 the then lord Reginald de Braose is recorded as clearing woods near the castle, perhaps to make room for burgages.[87] Whatever its origins, the borough was certainly well established by 1250 when rents amounted to £8 8s. 3d., suggesting as many as 160 plots.[88] Linear in layout, Grosmont does not appear to have been defended; presumably, as at Caerphilly and Llantrisant, the castle was deemed to be sufficient protection.[89] The town seems to have developed as a notable marketing centre, probably holding a market and at least one fair.[90] Indeed, the presence of a small Jewish community in the town during the mid-thirteenth century would appear to support this view.[91] As was noted at Caerleon, the majority of Jews during this period earnt a living as merchants, traders and moneylenders.[92] Consequently, their presence at Grosmont would suggest that there was sufficient opportunity in the town to pursue these occupations. Unfortunately, a lack of further evidence for Grosmont during this period means that we can say little more about the borough's development. For example, no information has survived to outline the structure of the town's internal administration and no charter of any form exists to illuminate any liberties and privileges which the burgesses might have enjoyed.

In addition to the small borough which developed at Grosmont, some form of settlement also seems to have occurred alongside the castles at Skenfrith and White Castle. Whether these settlements can be legitimately regarded as urban developments has been the subject of some debate. Neither is described as a 'borough' in the surviving documentation, while no reference is made to a market or fair at either settlement. Furthermore, some evidence has survived to suggest that rather than being true towns, both Skenfrith and White Castle may in fact have represented a privileged tenure within the manors which depended upon each castle.[93] A surviving rental for White Castle dated 1386 records 112½ burgage tenements held by 62 people. However, of the 62 tenants, 50 also held land by free scutage or customary tenure, while 22 of the 33 leading tenants who held 10 acres or more also held burgages.[94] A similar situation also seems to have existed at Skenfrith.[95] This would explain the lack of visible urban functions at both settlements, particularly the absence of markets and fairs, and suggests that Skenfrith and White Castle were of a different nature and more limited role than the other

urban centres considered in the course of this study. Despite the apparently non-urban characteristics of Skenfrith and White Castle, however, their development during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries raises the possibility of some form of homogeneous policy towards such settlement by the lords of Three Castles prior to the amalgamation with Monmouth. As we have seen, Reginald de Braose appears to have been actively involved in the development of the borough at Grosmont, and his hand also seems to have been involved in the lesser centres. In 1219, he is evidenced clearing woodland alongside Skenfrith Castle.[96] Unfortunately, the almost total lack of further documentary evidence for the lordship prior to 1239 makes it impossible to say whether the de Braose lords were following a cohesive policy of implantation in the lordship. If they were, however, the homogeneous attitude was much more limited in scale and scope than that witnessed in the Clare lands. Certainly, there is no indication whatsoever of the specialisation of function apparent at Trelech, Cowbridge, Llantrisant and Caerphilly.

This situation appears to have changed little with the amalgamation of Monmouth and Three Castles. Monmouth retained its role as caput, Grosmont continued as a local centre of trade, while Skenfrith and White Castle do not appear to have evolved into true boroughs. Edmund seems to have felt no need to encourage any additional urban centres. This, however, is unsurprising. Monmouth and Three Castles represented a small and relatively unimportant part of the great Lancaster inheritance. Content to accrue the profits from the lordship, the motivation probably did not exist on Edmund's part to embark upon the type of concentrated seigneurial exploitation demonstrated by the Clares. The nature of the lordship merely reinforced this attitude, for even when united Monmouth and Three Castles still represented a relatively small geographical area (see figure twenty two). This much is reflected in the value of the lordship to the seigneur. In 1331, Monmouth and Three Castles was valued at £514.[97] By comparison, the bloc of Clare lordships was valued at £2,472 in 1317.[98] Presumably, the main urban centres of Monmouth and Grosmont were sufficient to exploit this economic potential. The combination of seigneurial attitude and economic potential surely represented a major factor in the differing levels of urbanisation witnessed in the Clare lordships and those of Lancaster.

iii. THE LORDSHIP OF BRECON

Brecon represented one of the most important and most valuable Marcher lordships, comparable in terms of size and wealth to Glamorgan itself. The area was originally invaded by Bernard Neufmarché during the late eleventh century, and in 1091 he constructed a motte and bailey castle at Brecon.[99] A small civilian settlement quickly emerged in the shadow of the castle, probably being located in the outer bailey.[100] In common with other Marcher caputs, Brecon underwent significant growth during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that sufficient evidence survives to allow us to provide a portrait of the town in broad terms. By this time, the centre of the town appears to have moved from the castle bailey to the opposite bank of the River Honddu.[101] In layout, the medieval town seems largely to have followed the street plan preserved in the modern-day town, an irregular grid of streets around St. Mary's Church.[102] At some point in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, the town was encircled by strong stone walls,

studded with ten towers and served by four main gates. Seemingly constructed by the burgesses, the walls stand tribute to the townspeoples' determination to defend themselves rather than rely upon the seigneur.[103] This, quite clearly, was rather different to the contemporary situation in the Clare lands to the south.

The economy of the town followed the familiar pattern seen in the other major Marcher caputs. While no contemporary evidence has survived, fifteenth and sixteenth century burgess lists give us some indication of the types of occupations followed by the townspeople. The largest group consists of the retailers of food and drink, such as butchers, bakers, brewers and fishmongers. Other inhabitants, meanwhile, were engaged in the manufacture and sale of clothing, with tailors, corvisers, dyers, glovers, drapers, tanners and clothiers all featuring prominently.[104] In addition to these occupations, we might also expect to find smiths, carpenters, tanners and other such craftsmen. The activities of the burgesses were focussed upon the weekly markets, held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and three annual fairs.[105] In common with most of its contemporaries, the wealth of Brecon was drawn from its role as the marketing centre for its hinterland.[106] Located upon a major trading route from Hereford to St. David's, Brecon was ideally situated to exploit both local and longer distance trade.[107] Yet while marketing was undoubtedly central, the town retained a rural air and many burgesses would have been active in the production of foodstuffs and other raw materials such as wool and leather.[108]

Brecon did not receive its first charter until 1276, when Humphrey de Bohun VII granted the burgesses the liberties of Hereford, albeit with a number of reservations. The grant would appear to have been motivated by a growing desire on the part of the burgesses to have a greater measure of self government and freedom from the exactions of the lord's officials.[109] This was reinforced by the granting of a second charter at some time between 1277 and 1282 which delineated the boundaries of the borough and annulled the reservations of the first charter; effectively this gave the burgesses the liberties of Hereford.[110] Furthermore, the burgesses of Brecon were granted a monopoly of trade throughout the lordship. This power was compounded by the fact that the burgesses were allowed to collect their own tolls and rents of the town, together with tolls collected "beyond the mountain" and from all strangers and foreigners "coming within the limits of the whole of our territory of Brecon".[111] Quite simply, the trade of the entire lordship was subordinated to the interests of the town. This gave the burgesses of Brecon a position of pre-eminence quite without parallel in the Clares' lordships to the south. In addition, the burgesses of Brecon were also empowered to regulate the internal economy of the town to their own advantage through the establishment of a guild merchant and a 'hanse', to which all the traders had to belong if they wished to trade.[112] These powers were reinforced by additional liberties granted in a third charter by Humphrey de Bohun VIII in 1308.[113] In return for a payment of 60 marks, the burgesses received further privileges. Baking and brewing for sale was forbidden outside the borough, while an attempt was made to reform trade abuses such as forestalling (the practise of buying goods before they reached the market, so as to sell them at a higher price) and the evasion of tolls.[114]

This centralisation of the economic life of the lordship upon Brecon would obviously have had serious implications for additional urban settlement in the rest of the lordship. Some eleven miles up

the Usk valley from Brecon, a subsidiary vill had come into existence at Llywel (Trecastle) by 1282. Little is known of its origins, but during the late thirteenth century it would appear that its inhabitants entertained ambitions of developing their settlement into a borough, and the lord of Brecon would seem to have been sympathetic to this aspiration.[115] The possibility of a second borough developing in the lordship aroused intense opposition from the burgesses of Brecon, who expressed their concerns by petitioning the lord.[116] The seigneurial response was the charter of 1308, which defined the exact relationship between Brecon and Llywel and effectively dashed Llywel's hopes of developing into a fully fledged borough.[117] Under its terms the inhabitants of Llywel could only trade within the lordship on the same terms as non-burgesses; no inhabitant had the right to bake or brew for sale; and the burgesses of Brecon were given the exclusive control of the rents and tolls of Llywel.[118] Effectively controlled by Brecon, Llywel was still-born as a borough. As Rees Davies has stated

> "the jealous parent made sure that the sickly child was not allowed to grow".[119]

Quite clearly, the pattern of urbanisation in Brecon during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was rather different from that witnessed in the Clare lands to the south. In a lordship of the size and wealth of Brecon we might reasonably expect to find more than a single urban foundation. Certainly, the potential was there if the lord had chosen to exploit it. The existence of a single urban focus, while surprising, was not unusual; the parallel situation in Striguil and Monmouth (prior to 1256) serves to demonstrate this. What is unusual, however, is the amount of influence wielded by the burgesses of Brecon within the lordship as a whole. In effect, the lordship was converted into an exclusive trading area for the burgesses of its only chartered borough.[120] This represents the essential difference in the seigneurial attitudes of the Clares and the Bohuns. Within the Clare lands, towns were developed for the benefit of the seigneur. In Brecon, it was undoubtedly the burgesses who benefited first and foremost by the end of the thirteenth century. For the Bohuns, urbanisation simply does not appear to have been viewed as an important way of reinforcing seigneurial control and maximising seigneurial profit in the lordship of Brecon.

iv. THE LORDSHIP OF GOWER

To the west of Glamorgan lay the small lordship of Gower which had originally been appropriated by Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick, at some time before 1116.[121] A castle was built at Swansea, and this was soon accompanied by a small civilian settlement which was incorporated as a borough at some time between 1153 and 1184.[122] During the twelfth century, the castle and borough had developed into the military, administrative and commercial centre of the lordship, and when it was inherited by John de Braose in 1221 it represented one of the more important urban centres of the southern March. Laid out along a traditional grid plan, the town formed an 'L'-shape with the castle occupying a roughly central position.[123] No information survives regarding burgage numbers during this period, but Swansea was surely substantial in size, perhaps comparable with Chepstow. The economic role of Swansea during the thirteenth century followed that familiar pattern seen in the other Marcher caputs. The presence of the castle, where the lords of Gower often seem to have resided during this period, probably represented a major stimulus. In addition to the trade arising from the

provisioning of the castle, Swansea would also have benefited from its position as the administrative and judicial centre of the lordship. The monthly sessions of the county courts of the Englishry and Welshry would have necessitated the attendance of large numbers of suitors and others involved in the proceedings.[124] Additionally, there would have been significant numbers of people travelling to Swansea on business with the lord and his officers.[125] Above all, however, the town acted as the marketing centre for the lordship of Gower, attracting large numbers of country-people to the marketplace while seabourne trade, particularly with Bristol, is also thought to have made a major contribution to the town's economy.[126] The development of the economy of Swansea and its hinterland during the thirteenth century provided the lords of Gower with great opportunities for exploiting the borough of Swansea as a source of seigneurial revenue. This opportunity seems to have been rather over-enthusiastically pursued by William de Braose, however, as his oppressive lordship caused serious friction with the burgesses of Swansea. Indeed, this became serious enough to require royal intervention and de Braose was forced to grant a charter to Swansea in 1306.[127] This charter extended the provisions granted in the twelfth century charter of William de Beaumont, and effectively placed the burgesses of Swansea in a comparable position to their contemporaries in the Clare lordships. Amongst the most important of the numerous provisions made in the charter was a clause which stated that the steward should appoint one of two persons annually elected by the burgesses to act as the reeve of the borough.[128] This would suggest that the town had previously been directly governed by the lord's steward without any burgess involvement.

While the burgesses of Swansea thus gained some direct involvement in the internal government of the borough, there is no evidence to suggest that they regulated the internal economy of the town through a formal guild merchant.[129] In practice, however, it seems clear that the burgesses enjoyed most of the privileges which normally appertained to such a guild. The essential condition for guild membership was that members should submit to the financial impositions of the guild, generally known as 'scot and lot', to meet communal expenditure. Evidently these were levied at Swansea as de Braose's charter stated that any new burgess should pay 'scottage' and tallage.[130] The charter also stated that foreign merchants were prohibited from trading within the lordship, contrary to the burgesses liberty, and the burgesses continued for centuries to exercise the principal functions of a guild merchant by controlling the admission of burgesses to the freedom of the town.[131]

That the burgesses of Swansea played a highly influential role in the administration and economic life of the town following de Braose's charter of 1306 is confirmed by a number of royal grants made to the townspeople during the first half of the fourteenth century. In 1317 Edward II authorised the burgesses to levy tolls of murage and pavage upon goods entering Swansea for a period of ten years.[132] Stone walls appear to have been constructed at Swansea during the early years of the fourteenth century,[133] and the fact that the burgesses were given permission to impose murage tolls suggests that they were, at least in part, responsible for their construction. A further royal grant for permission to impose these tolls for five years was made by Edward III in 1338.[134] These grants are interesting in comparative terms with the Clare boroughs. The burgesses of Swansea were apparently responsible for the repair and upkeep of both the walls and the streets; a situation quite without parallel in any of the Clares' ten Welsh towns.[135]

While Swansea represented the caput and chief marketing centre of the lordship of Gower, it did not constitute the sole urban foundation. In the western reaches of the lordship, a Norman ringwork had been constructed near the remains of a Roman fort at Loughor c.1100.[136] The site held considerable strategic importance, overlooking the Loughor Estuary and commanding the river at its narrowest crossing point.[137] A stone tower was constructed within the ringwork, later reinforced by an outer curtain wall, probably erected in the early thirteenth century.[138] By this time a small fledgling settlement had grown up alongside the castle, protected by the Roman defences.[139] No charter has survived to allow us to estimate when this settlement became a fully fledged borough, but the late thirteenth century would seem to be the most likely period. A fair was granted to Loughor by the crown in 1247, and by 1319 mention is made of the "villam de Logher".[140] A borough was certainly in place by 1322, when it is mentioned in the grant of the castle to Hugh le Despenser.[141] The town remained small, however, being confined to the area of the Roman fort and some ribbon development along the main road.[142] The prime purpose of the town appears to have been military/administrative, to support the castle and enforce English dominance in the disputed lands of western Gower. In this way it represents a clear parallel with developments in the Clare lordships during the thirteenth century, particularly Llantrisant and Caerphilly. Indeed, like them, Loughor also fulfilled a secondary marketing role as the establishment of the fair stands testimony. With the ferry crossing of the river alongside the town, the potential existed for this marketing role to be further developed by the de Braose lords. Certainly, the inhabitants of Loughor had established themselves in the wider trade of the lordship as de Braose's charter of 1306 excepted the burgesses of Loughor from the clause forbidding 'foreign merchants' from trading in Swansea.[143] A lack of evidence makes further discussion of Loughor's development in terms of internal government, economic regulation and the relative influence of seigneur and burgesses extremely difficult. Given the small size of the borough, the lack of any charter and the initially oppressive attitude of William de Braose towards his lordship, however, we might be justified in supposing that Loughor was heavily dominated by its seigneurs.

The pattern of urbanisation in Gower during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was, therefore, rather more advanced than in a number of the contemporary lordships considered in this chapter. Unlike the Bohuns of Brecon, the de Braose lords appear to have recognised the potential of towns as an instrument for reinforcing seigneurial control and increasing the profits which they received from their lordship. There is little indication that they adopted the type of homogeneous attitude to urban development witnessed in the neighbouring Clare lordships, however. Both Swansea and Loughor evolved to fulfil the general roles typical of the medieval town, with nothing to suggest that their development was instigated to fulfil a specific, pre-determined role. Once again, an explanation can be sought in the size, wealth and requirements of the lordship in question. Gower was both physically small and of modest financial importance, being valued at £386 in the fourteenth century.[144] As with the lordships of Monmouth (prior to 1256) and Striguil, Gower was thus somewhat limited in its ability to sustain a high density of urban settlement. Unlike the valuable and politically important bloc of Clare lordships with their wide and varied needs, the urban requirements were probably adequately met by Swansea and Loughor. The need for dense, specialised urban settlement would simply not have arisen.

CONCLUSIONS

It seems clear that the pattern of seigneurial actions in the Clares urban centres were, in part, homogeneous in nature. As we have seen, however, this was less readily apparent in the internal development of the towns in terms of their government and administration as well as in their physical growth and expansion. Yet this is unsurprising. For the Clares to have operated a precise, cohesive and homogeneous attitude towards the internal development of all ten of their Welsh towns would have required a degree of seigneurial sophistication unique in Anglo-Norman lordships of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. If any homogeneous policy existed towards the Clares' Welsh urban centres, it is much more likely to have been apparent in the relationships between the towns as a whole and the rest of the lordships. As we have seen, this would appear to have been the case. The Clares seem to have regarded their towns as being a cohesive unit in their lordships as a whole, and used them as a specific instrument in their wider exploitation. Towns reinforced seigneurial military domination, administrative control and served to fulfil a number of specific economic functions. Of course, in isolation these roles were fulfilled by many medieval towns. Yet in the Clares' Welsh lordships this would appear to have been achieved through the conscious, homogeneous intentions of the seigneur, rather than as a by-product of piecemeal lordship. The specialised yet interrelating roles fulfilled by the Clares' Welsh towns appear to have been a direct consequence of pre-determined seigneurial policy.

Quite clearly, the apparent existence of a homogeneous policy towards urbanisation on the part of the Clares represents an extremely important development in itself. More than that, however, from the brief comparison made with a number of neighbouring lordships it would also seem to represent a development unique in the southern March. Nowhere, in any of the four neighbouring lordships considered here, does any evidence survive to suggest that the other lords applied such a homogeneous attitude towards urban implantation and development. Of course, caution must be used when describing the Clares' actions as 'unique'. The comparison made in this chapter has been limited to four lordships and thus cannot claim to be definitive. Similarly, through the constraints of space, those lordships which have been used for comparative purposes have only been considered in fairly basic terms. Certainly, the opportunity exists for more detailed future research into this aspect of medieval urbanisation. Nevertheless, while keeping these reservations firmly in mind, it would seem fair to state that the Clares' actions were at the very least highly unusual and seemingly without parallel in the south-eastern March.

Notes

1. Ralph A. Griffiths, pers. comm..
2. See above chapter six, pp. 181-86.
3. As has been seen each town did not necessarily possess all of these officials. The smaller implantations were served by some, according to their needs, while Cowbridge (without a castle) was ultimately controlled by the Constable of Cardiff Castle. Ibid.
4. See above, chapter three, passim.
5. Ibid. p.75.
6. See above, chapter six, pp. 184-5 ; Davies, R.R. (1978), Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400, p. 322.
7. See above, chapter six, p. 177 ; Beresford, M. (1967) New Towns of the Middle Ages, pp. 192-206.
8. Beresford (1967), loc. cit.
9. See above, chapter six, p. 177.
10. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent, IV, p. 1419.
11. See above, chapter five, pp. 161-2 ; PRO. Ministers Accounts, SC6/1202/7.
12. See above, chapter six, pp. 179-81 ; Matthews, J.H. (1985) Cardiff Records, I, p. 13 ; Johnson, R. (1882) Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford, p. 24.
13. See above, chapter six, pp. 185-92.
14. Beresford (1967), pp. 105-25.
15. Soulsby, I. (1983) The Towns of Medieval Wales, p. 29.
16. See above, chapters four and five, passim.
17. Ibid, chapter five, passim.
18. Ibid. Llantrisant's site reflects its initial military and administrative role, while Trelech's isolated position would seem to be explained by its development as an industrial centre, administrative focus and 'safe haven' in the Clare lordships.
19. See above, chapter five, pp. 145-8 and chapter six, pp. 188-89.
20. Ibid, chapter five, fig. 18.
21. Ibid, chapter six, pp. 186-7.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid, chapter four, pp. 80-88 and chapter five, pp. 140-2.
24. Ibid, chapter four, p. 88.
25. Ibid, chapter three, passim.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Soulsby (1983), p. 7 ; see above, chapter one, passim.
30. See below, pp. 216-8.
31. See above, chapter five, pp. 138-9.

32. James, B.Ll. and Francis, D. (1979) Cowbridge and Llanblethian : Past and Present, pp. 26-7.

33. See above, chapter four, passim.

34. Ibid, chapter five, pp. 139-40.

35. Beresford (1969), pp. 56-62.

36. See above, chapter five, passim.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid, chapter one, passim.

39. Ibid, chapter four, passim.

40. For the agreement see Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae, IV, pp. 1203-05.

41. Ibid, I. pp. 74-6 ; and V, pp. 1680-1.

42. Ibid, IV, pp. 1203-5 ; Spurgeon, J. 'Glamorgan : Later Castles and Fortifications', forthcoming RCAHMW publication.

43. See above, chapter four, pp. 103-04 ; chapter five, pp. 152-3.

44. Clark (1910) Cartae, IV, pp. 1203-05.

45. Spurgeon, forthcoming.

46. The actual figure for Cowbridge is not given in the I.P.M and has been estimated from the burgage total of 276¾.

47. PRO., SC6/1202/8 ; James and Francis (1979), p. 33.

48. Clark (1910) Cartae, IV, p. 1204.

49. The boroughs, with their defences, were rather less vulnerable to damage in the event of attack than an undefended manor. Also, issues would be a little more stable in times of famine etc.

50. Howell, R. (1988) A History of Gwent, p. 55 ; also, see above, chapters one and two, passim.

51. Maddicott, J.R. (1994) Simon de Montfort, pp. 153-92, 248.

52. Ibid, pp. 152-72 and passim.

53. Howell (1988), loc. cit.

54. 'Chepstow' appears to have been derived from the Old English 'Céapstow', meaning a market place. It came into general usage from the fourteenth century, before that being known as Striguil. The later form has been used here to avoid confusion with the lordship as a whole. Beresford (1967), p. 559.

55. See above, chapter one, p. 8.

56. Beresford (1967), p. 15 ; Shoesmith, R. (1991) Excavations at Chepstow, 1973-73, pp. 4-9. Medieval settlement may well have been concentrated in the area between the Priory and the castle, however, as a watching brief carried out at the town gate to the south-west uncovered little evidence of medieval activity. Howell, R. "A Watching Brief Report on the 1990-91 Bank Street Development, Chepstow", Monmouthshire Antiquary (1993), passim.

57. Shoesmith, R. (1991), p. 7 ; Knight, J. (1986) Chepstow Castle, pp. 46-7. The port wall enclosed a vast area, much greater than that required for the town and incorporating open fields, orchards etc. The reasons for this are unclear, but one possibility is that the wall took advantage of the natural contours of the site to maximise its defensive potential. Howell, R. pers. comm.

58. Bradney, J. (1929) A History of Monmouthshire, vol. IV, part I, p. 5.

59. Shoesmith (1991), loc. cit.

60. Ibid.

61. See above, chapter six, p. 179.

62. Courtney, P. (1994) Report on the Excavations at Usk 1965-76 : Medieval and Later Usk, p. 117.

63. See above, chapter four, p. 109.

64. Bradney, IV, I, p. 14.

65. National Library of Wales, Badminton MS 1790, fos. 70-5 ; Waters, I. (1975) The Town of Chepstow, p. 138.

66. Courtney (1994), loc. cit. ; Bradney (1929), loc. cit.

67. Courtney (1994), p. 118.

68. It is possible that some attempt at implantation might have occurred at places like Shirenewton, where placename evidence offers the suggestion of 'new' settlement. There is no evidence to substantiate this possibility, however, and it would seem fair to state that if settlement did occur, it failed to develop into a true town with full urban functions. Howell, R. pers. comm.

69. See above, chapter one, p. 8.

70. Soulsby (1983), p. 108.

71. Rees, W. (1924) South Wales and the March 1284-1415, map at endspiece.

72. A prime example was Bigod's opposition to Edward I's campaign in Gascony in 1297. Ordered to lead an unaccompanied campaign by the king, Bigod, the Marshal of England, refused and retired to his stronghold of Chepstow to await developments. Powicke, M. (1962) The Thirteenth Century, pp. 666, 679-80 ; Howell, R. (1988), p. 55.

73. The motte had been constructed in 1067, see above chapter one, p. 8. As we have seen, there is a strong possibility of earlier activity in the area of the medieval town. Ibid, p. 7.

74. Kissack, M. (1974) Medieval Monmouth, p. 14 ; Soulsby (1983), pp. 182-3.

75. Kissack (1974), p. 71 ; Caley, J. and Ellis, H. (eds.) Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, IV, p. 596.

76. The lordship was surrendered to Henry by its lord, John de Monmouth, in exchange for lands in Wiltshire and Dorset. The reasons why are unclear, but debt seems the most likely explanation. Kissack (1974), p. 27.

77. Ibid, p. 31.

78. PRO., SC6/1094/11.

79. See above, chapter four, pp. 107-17.

80. PRO., SC6/1094/11. Cardiff had c.400 burgages in 1262-3, Usk c.283, and Newport c.242. See above, chapter four, table one.

81. Kissack (1974), p. 33.

82. Ibid, loc. cit. ; Soulsby (1983), p. 183 ; Courtney (1994), p. 118.

83. PRO., Ancient Deeds, C.146/9843 ; Kissack (1994), p. 31 and Appendix, p. 72.

84. Ibid.

85. Kissack (1974), loc. cit. The seal shows a ship together with the words "Commune sigill' Monemute".

86. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, I, p. 28.

87. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Relating to Wales, p. 8.

88. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, I, p. 28.

89. See above, chapter five, pp. 140-2.

90. The market and fairs are not explicitly evidenced until the early modern period, when the town possessed a twice weekly market and three yearly fairs. They probably had their origins in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, albeit on a more limited scale. PRO., Duchy of Lancaster, DL42/99/f.74 and Rees, W. (ed.) (1953) A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships, 1609-13, p. 75 ; Courtney (1994), p. 138.

91. Roderick, A.J. and Rees, W. (eds.) 'The Accounts of the Ministers for the Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle', South Wales and Monmouth Record Society, 2 (1950), p. 25.

92. See above, chapter four, p. 114.

93. Beresford (1967), p. 561.

94. PRO., DL43/13/3 ; Courtney (1994), pp. 114-5.

95. Courtney (1994), loc. cit.

96. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales, p. 8.

97. PRO., DL40/1/11 ; Davies, R.R. (1978) Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400, p. 196.

98. PRO., C47/9/23-6 ; Davies, R.R. (1978), loc. cit.

99. Thomas, W.S.K. (1991) Brecon : 1093-1660, p. 4.

100. Ibid, p. 6.

101. Ibid, p. 26.

102. Soulsby (1983), pp. 81-2. Brecon's medieval layout is largely captured in Speed's plan of 1610, printed in Davies, R.R. 'Brecon', in Griffiths, R.A. (1978) Boroughs of Medieval Wales, p. 46.

103. Davies, R.R. 'Brecon', p. 50.

104. Ibid, p. 58.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid, p. 59.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid, p. 57.

109. Thomas (1991), p. 17.

110. Ibid, p. 18.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid, p. 19.

113. Davies, R.R. 'Brecon', p. 55 ; Rees, W. 'The Charters of the Boroughs of Brecon and Llandovery'. Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, II (1923-5), pp. 243-61.

114. Thomas (1991), p. 20.

115. Ibid, p. 19.

116. Ibid, pp. 19-20.

117. Davies, R.R. 'Brecon', loc. cit.

118. Ibid, p. 56.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid, p. 53.

121. Robinson, W.R.B. 'Swansea' in Griffiths, R.A. (ed.) (1978) Boroughs of Medieval Wales, p. 263.

122. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae, I, pp. 136-8.

123. Soulsby (1983), p. 243.

124. Robinson, W.R.B. (1978), p. 266.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. Idem, 'Medieval Swansea' in Pugh, T.B. (ed.) (1971) Glamorgan County History, Vol. III, p. 366.

128. Ibid ; The charter is printed in Francis, G.G. (ed.) (1867) Charters granted to Swansea.

129. Robinson, W.R.B. (1971), p. 368.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid, p. 369.

132. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1317-21, p. 59. The grant was said to have been made at the request of William de Braose.

133. Soulsby (1983), p. 243.

134. Robinson, W.R.B. (1971), p. 370.

135. See above, chapter six, pp. 185-91.

136. Soulsby (1983), p. 179. The fort was possibly 'Leucarum' which is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary. Ling, R. and L.A. 'Excavations at Loughor, Glamorgan : The North-East and South-East Angles of the Roman Fort', Archaeologia Cambrensis, cxxii (1973), pp. 60-2.

137. Soulsby (1983), loc. cit.

138. Lewis, J.M. 'Loughor Castle', Morgannwg XVII (1973), pp. 60-2.

139. St. Michael's chapel, the predecessor of the present church, is recorded in this area in 1208. Clark, G.T. (1910) Cartae, II, p. 316.

140. Calendar of Charter Rolls, I, p. 328 ; Clark, Cartae, III, p. 1066.

141. Soulsby (1983), loc. cit. ; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, VI, p. 216 ; Calendar of Charter Rolls, III, p. 448.

142. Beresford (1967), p. 556.

143. See above, p. 226.

144. Davies, R.R. (1987), p. 470.

CONCLUSION

URBANISATION AND THE CLARE LORDSHIPS : THE SITUATION IN 1314

The death of the young Earl Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn, and the subsequent partition of the great Clare landed inheritance, brought to a close nearly a century of notable expansion and consolidation in the Marcher lordships of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Usk and Caerleon. There can be little doubt that the political, social and military situation which existed in each of the four lordships in 1314 was significantly different from that which had been apparent in 1217; indeed, a good deal of work has been completed elsewhere which serves to reinforce this view.[1] The period of Clare tenure was characterised by a process of expansion and consolidation across their lordships as a whole, and from the discussions put forward in the course of this study, it has become clear that this was particularly apparent in terms of urban foundation and settlement. In fact, it can be claimed with some justification that the period of Clare tenure represented a watershed for urbanisation in each of the four lordships held by the family.

This investigation has raised a number of important points, each identifying a notable development in the urbanisation of the Clares' Marcher bloc. Perhaps the most immediately obvious development in the urban landscape of the four lordships during Clare tenure was the increased density of urban settlement which had occurred by 1314. As was seen in the initial investigation into early urbanisation in south-eastern Wales, each of the four lordships inherited or acquired by the Clares during the thirteenth century had already experienced a degree of urban settlement during the lordship of their previous seigneurs.[2] Glamorgan, in particular, was well served as by 1217 towns had been firmly established at Cardiff, Neath and Kenfig, while Newport had emerged in the subordinate lordship of Gwynllŵg. Similarly, in neighbouring Netherwent, towns had appeared at Caerleon and Usk which were well placed to serve the two lordships of the same names which emerged as a consequence of the Marshal partition. Yet while this existing level of urbanisation reflected developments across the March as a whole, the century of Clare lordship saw the situation transformed. In the space of some thirty years, during the tenure of Earls Richard and Gilbert, a further four towns were founded across the family's bloc of lordships. The foundation and development of Cowbridge, Trelech, Llantrisant and Caerphilly, together with the six existing towns, served to make the Clare bloc of lordships amongst the most densely populated of all Marcher lands in terms of urban settlement; a fact borne out in the brief comparison which was made with a number of neighbouring lordships. What is more, the towns which developed in the Clare lands did not follow the typical pattern seen in many Marcher lordships, with one major town and a number of lesser boroughs. While Caerphilly, Neath, Kenfig and Llantrisant undoubtedly did remain fairly small during the period of Clare tenure, Cardiff, Newport, Usk, Caerleon, Cowbridge and Trelech were all substantial centres by contemporary standards. Indeed, during the late thirteenth century Cardiff, Newport, Usk, Trelech and Cowbridge were all amongst the largest towns in Wales as the following table demonstrates:

TOWN	NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
CARDIFF	c.420	c.2100
TENBY	c.370	c.1850
HOLT	c.359	c.1800
CHEPSTOW	c.310	c.1550
USK	c.294	c.1450
COWBRIDGE	c.276¾	c.1400
TRELECH	c.271	c.1400
NEWPORT	c.256½	c.1280
PEMBROKE	c.240	c.1200
DENBIGH	c.235	c.1180

TABLE SIX : THE WELSH URBAN HIERARCHY:- THE TEN LARGEST TOWNS c.1300.[3]

(Source : Soulsby (1983), p. 21.)

Such density of urban settlement, compounded by the large size of many of the towns, was quite without parallel in the March of Wales during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and this immediately marks out the period of Clare lordship as being something quite extraordinary. Without doubt, after a century of Clare tenure the urban landscape of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk was radically different in 1314 from that which had existed in 1217. By the early fourteenth century, urban settlement cut a swathe from east to west across the bloc of lordships (see figures twenty three and twenty four).

It is important to note, however, that the patterns of development taken by each of the ten towns were by no means uniform. A central point which has emerged in the course of this work is that there appears to have been a divide of sorts between the development of the six inherited towns and that of the four new implantations of the thirteenth century. Turning firstly to those six towns inherited by the Clare earls of Gloucester, development seems to have been marked by a process of evolution rather than revolution. The caput of the Clares' Welsh inheritance, Cardiff, was perhaps the most outstanding in terms of its development, as it acquired stone walls, attracted two orders of mendicant friars and developed a well ordered and profitable economic role. Generally, as in the other five inherited towns, however, the period of Clare lordship witnessed a period of sustained growth and expansion without heralding any truly startling developments. To all intents and purposes, the century of Clare lordship simply saw the boroughs of Cardiff, Newport, Kenfig, Neath, Caerleon and Usk continue to perform the same roles and functions which they had previously fulfilled, albeit now under the control of a common seigneur. As has been stressed throughout this study, each followed the pattern of the

FIGURE TWENTY THREE : URBANISATION IN THE CLARE LORDSHIPS, 1217

FIGURE TWENTY FOUR : URBANISATION IN THE CLARE LORDSHIPS, 1314

'typical' Welsh medieval town in as much as they fulfilled a diverse number of roles of varying importance. They were each marketing and trading centres, administrative foci and upholders of English political and military superiority. The importance of each of these facets might change with the passage of time; certainly the military aspect was in decline from the late thirteenth century onwards. Overall, however, they each maintained the role of being general, multifarious urban centres.

This, quite clearly, was not the case in the four towns implanted by the Clares between 1245 and 1275. One extremely important point has consistently emerged from almost every aspect of the development of the 'new' towns which makes them highly significant. This, simply, is that in their basic nature the four newly implanted boroughs were intrinsically different from the inherited towns in as much as each was apparently founded by the Clare earls of Gloucester to perform a specific role. Rather than being purely speculative urban ventures which carved out roles for themselves as part of a long-term evolutionary process, each of the four 'new' towns was dominated by a particular function; at Cowbridge it was marketing, at Trelech iron production and at Llantrisant and Caerphilly it was administrative. This was hugely important. From the brief comparison made with towns in neighbouring lordships, and the evidence available for medieval urbanisation elsewhere in Wales, it would seem that such specialisation of function was highly unusual and worthy of special note. Indeed, it would appear that it was this specialisation of function which allowed both Cowbridge and Trelech to grow at such an accelerated rate. For both towns to have expanded so quickly that they were soon amongst the largest towns in Wales was unquestionably a remarkable achievement.

The implantation of four 'new' towns by the Clare earls of Gloucester during the thirteenth century, and the relative density of urban settlement which this created, was also significant. Of equal, if not greater importance, however, was the attitude adopted by the Clares towards all their urban centres and the seigneurial 'policies' which they applied therein. Some of the conclusions which have been reached regarding this crucial aspect of the investigation have had to be tentative and speculative; the evidence for the Clare bloc of lordships in general during the thirteenth century is scanty, while the material available for the urban centres in particular is disappointingly sparse. Nevertheless, despite the restrictions imposed by the availability of primary evidence, it has been possible to identify a number of crucial developments which seem to have defined the process of urbanisation during the period of Clare tenure.

The first of these developments to become apparent in the course of the investigation was the fact that the Clares appear to have exerted a notable degree of seigneurial control over the development and expansion of all the towns in their Welsh lordships, both inherited and newly implanted. As has been recognised, the development and expansion of a medieval borough was dependent upon the concerted action and co-operation of both the seigneur and the burgesses if it was to be successful. In the case of the Clares' Welsh towns, however, this was by no means an equal partnership. While no evidence has survived to suggest that the Clare earls were over-restrictive in terms of their attitudes towards their towns in the way, for example, that William de Braose acted towards Swansea, the family seem to have tried to exert as much direct control over the lives and development of their urban centres as they possibly could. Burgesses were allowed to play a certain role and exert a limited amount of

influence, most notably at Cardiff where a guild regulated the internal economy and the burgesses were sufficiently cohesive as a group to seek additional privileges for themselves. Nowhere, though, did the Clares allow the burgesses of their towns to obtain such power and influence as was exercised by the townspeople of neighbouring Brecon. At all times it was the earl who was the master of the destiny of each and every one of the towns in his Welsh lands. This, it has been recognised, was particularly true in the four 'new' towns implanted by the Clare earls themselves. Here it was they alone who determined the future direction and growth, free from the legacy of past developments.

The strong seigneurial control exerted by the Clare earls of Gloucester in their Welsh towns appears, in turn, to have allowed the family to adopt, at least in part, a homogeneous attitude towards urbanisation in their bloc of lordships. Towns, it would seem, were regarded by the Clare earls as being a cohesive unit within their Marcher lordships and they appear to have identified them as specific instruments in the wider exploitation of their estates. The town was a means of reinforcing seigneurial military domination, implementing effective administrative control and, increasingly importantly, of fulfilling a number of specific economic functions. This, it would seem clear, was achieved through the conscious, homogeneous intentions of the Clares as seigneurs rather than as a consequence of piecemeal lordship. This was, without doubt, a most significant development. In fact, it would seem to have been a development which was unique in the southern March during the thirteenth century, as nowhere in the brief comparison with neighbouring lordships does any evidence exist to suggest that other seigneurs applied such a homogeneous attitude towards urban implantation and development.

Each of these developments which occurred in the urban landscapes of Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk during the period of Clare tenure was undoubtedly significant in its own right. Certainly, each contributed towards making urban development in the Clares' Welsh lordships an important and dynamic process. It is important to recognise, however, that each of these crucial developments did not occur in isolation but rather emerged as a consequence of the attitude of the Clare earls towards their Welsh lordships as a whole during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This, without doubt, represents the central point to be drawn from this study. In the course of chapter two, during the discussion of the wider interests of the Clare family during this period, the point was made that the Welsh estates came to represent the major focus of the family's attention during the thirteenth century. Beginning with the initial inheritance of Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg, it was during the lordship of Earl Richard and his son, Gilbert 'the Red', that this change of direction on the part of the Clares became most defined. As has been discussed, this period witnessed the transformation of the family's Welsh estates from a loose confederation of demesne lands, sub-infeudated fiefs and virtually independent native commotes into a strong, centralised bloc of lordships.[4] This presented the earls with a compact, valuable domain which endowed them with significant military power and a notable independence from royal control. When one recalls that the Clare earls often found themselves in conflict with the king during the thirteenth century, the importance of their Welsh lands cannot be overestimated. It is within this context that we must ultimately view the developments in the urban landscapes of the four lordships. Each of the ten towns and their individual evolution cannot be separated from this wider process. They were, collectively, but one component of the Clare Marcher

bloc, and ultimately their patterns of development were determined by the wider requirements and needs of the Clares.

On its most basic level, the growth and evolution of urban settlement in Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk during Clare tenure might simply be considered to have been a local reflection of a wider process of urbanisation. Across western Europe, the thirteenth century was characterised by a period of notable economic growth. The population grew rapidly, demand for land increased, new towns were founded and existing towns expanded significantly. This wider social and economic pattern of the thirteenth century would have had an effect upon urbanisation in the Clares' Welsh lordships, of that there can be little doubt. However, from the discussions and arguments put forward in the course of this study, it is clear that the situation witnessed in 1314 had arisen as a result of a far more complex set of influences and pressures. Ultimately, the process of urbanisation witnessed in Glamorgan, Gwynllŵg, Caerleon and Usk between 1217 and 1314 stands as testimony to a period of seigneurial domination and exploitation unparalleled in the southern March during the thirteenth century.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the general military, political and social development of the Clare Marcher bloc between 1217 and 1314 see Altschul, M. (1965) A Baronial Family in Medieval England : The Clares, 1217-1314, passim and particularly chapter VIII ; Ward, J.C. (1964) The Estates of the Clare Family, 1066-1314, (unpublished PhD thesis), passim and particularly chapter VII ; Altschul, M. 'The Lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg 1217-1314', Glamorgan County History, Vol. III, chapter II ; Davies, R.R. (1987) The Age of Conquest, chapter 10, pp. 271-289.

2. See above, chapter one, passim.

3. The table only includes, for obvious reasons, those towns for which information regarding taxpayer totals survives from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Some 43 towns have thus been omitted.

4. See above, chapter three, passim.

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